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Party Chiefs Address UkSSR CP CC Plenum
18000211 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
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[Unattributed report on UkSSR CP Central Committee Plenum in Kiev, 22-23 January 1988: "To Master Political Methods of Administration and Deepen Restructuring In All Branches"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, on 22-23 January 1988 a plenum of the UkSSR CP Central Committee was held. The topic of discussion was the Central Committee Politburo account concerning the administration of restructuring. Discussion centered on a report given by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the UkSSR CP Central Committee, on behalf of the UkSSR CP Central Committee.

Discussion of the report was opened by V. P. Mironov, first secretary of the Donetsk Party Obkom. "The report," he said, "contained an in-depth analysis of the Politburo's work with regard to the administration of restructuring and gave a critical evaluation of what has been achieved, highlighted problems and outlined ways to further increase the effectiveness of organizational and political work. As a member of the Politburo I would like to note that during the accounting period the Politburo worked hard and efficiently. There is now greater mutual exactingness in its operations, exchange of opinions has become more frank, and greater demands are being made of each individual. I am fully aware that today I, too, am accountable to the Central Committee for the current situation. I agree that my personal contribution to the Politburo's work has been inadequate, and that the criticism leveled at me was justified."

"Positive tendencies were also observable in our oblast's social and economic development, and in the level of its morale. Over the past two years industry has achieved its five-year plan quotas with regard to growth rates for production volume and labor productivity, and in agriculture the state plan for procurement of crops and livestock has been overfulfilled. However, no fundamental changes have been achieved. This is attested to by the tense condition in the oblast economy, especially its principal sectors. Plans for contract deliveries are not being fulfilled, there has been virtually no decrease in production overhead, and scientific and technical advances are not being introduced into production rapidly enough."

"The secretaries and members of the Central Committee Politburo," noted the speaker, "have begun to visit local areas more frequently, and they have begun to have more frequent meetings with individuals and the party aktiv. That is good, but at the present time still inadequate. In difficult situations, when the most acute problems are

being resolved, Politburo members and secretaries, not to mention the chiefs of sector departments, should more often assume the role of organizers and render greater practical assistance."

"Great hopes with regard to accelerated renovation of fixed capital at our oblast's metallurgical enterprises are linked to timely realization of the measures outlined in a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution concerning the development and technical refitting of ferrous metallurgy plants, as well as in analogous resolutions by the UkSSR CP Central Committee and our republic government. However, despite all our efforts no substantive change with regard to technical refitting and modernization of production has occurred, especially at such major enterprises as the Combine imeni Ilich, the Azovstal Combine and the Combine imeni S. M. Kirov."

"Or another example: the 1986 UkSSR CP Central Committee Politburo resolution concerning acceleration of work to expand the rate of renovation and technical refitting of enterprises under the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry. That was a very important decision, because that sector is in an extremely neglected state. In Donetsk Oblast the rate of obsolescence at its enterprises has reached 80 percent. But in this area as well the necessary results have not been achieved. As before, that sector continues to be a considerable hindrance to the development of capital construction."

"Let us consider consumer goods production. In order to bring about a fundamental solution to this problem, we need to create new capacities for the production of technically complex items at large enterprises in the heavy industrial sector. This is not the first year we have been working persistently with the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of Heavy Machine and Transport Machine Building, the Ministry of the Coal Industry and the Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy. We have managed to get those ministries to include such items in their plans for the construction of new shops and production capacities. But now everything has come to a standstill. The republic Council of Ministers has also not had any notable success in this regard, although in recent years it has passed more than one resolution on these matters."

"We are of the opinion," said V. P. Mironov, "that Central Committee secretaries B. V. Kachura and S. I. Gurenko, as well as Ye. V. Kachalovskiy, first deputy chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, should participate directly in organizing the implementation of these resolutions, which are of great importance in solving accumulated problems in the areas of ferrous metallurgy, capital construction and consumer goods production."

After mentioning several aspects of educational work in labor collectives, the speaker noted that the system of ideological work also needs radical restructuring. The

Politburo and ideological departments of the UkSSR CP Central Committee should demonstrate more courage and initiative in this far from simple task.

"The report today," the speaker continued, "voiced serious reproaches against the Zhdanov Party Gorkom. The principal cause of shortcomings in its work is an economic bias, to the detriment of political and organizational work. But let us consider the issue from another standpoint: work by the party committee and its secretaries continues to be evaluated solely in terms of successes or failures in the functioning of industry, construction or other enterprises. Everything possible has definitely not been done to expand the role of party committees as organs of political leadership. We feel that the Politburo should take more decisive, specific steps to ensure that party committees work actively to develop effective new forms of party-political support for restructuring, forms which are attuned to the spirit of the times. In our opinion, in order to do so they must first and foremost regulate less, stop hyperorganizing their operations and give them more opportunities to show independence and develop initiative."

"The Politburo's account to this plenum of the UkSSR CP Central Committee," noted V. P. Mynichenko, first secretary of the Kharkov Party Obkom, "essentially sums up the results of work by the republic party organization to implement the first stage of restructuring. Our oblast's experience shows that, although restructuring is gathering steam, it is also accompanied by great difficulties and delays. Thus, in the industrial sector, despite a 14 percent increase in profits since the beginning of this five-year plan and improvement in our indices for labor productivity, quality, resource conservation and capital-output ration, there has been a three percent underfulfillment of contractual obligations, and production overhead has risen by 15 million rubles. In agriculture, despite overfulfillment of plans for sale of livestock to the state and greater profits, over the past two years our oblast has not met its plan goals for procurements of grain, sugar beets and fruit. There have also been shortcomings in the operations of construction and transportation organizations and in the service sector."

"At this plenum there has been thorough discussion of the things which are hindering restructuring and of the changes which are taking place in the upper echelons of administration. In our opinion, the Politburo is pursuing a consistent and principled policy aimed at implementation of the party's course toward restructuring and acceleration. Politburo members and candidate members are, through visits to local areas, studying in depth the situation within individual collectives, are giving practical advice and when necessary are rendering assistance in solving current problems. All this has elicited a positive response from the party economic aktiv and all working people."

"However, in our opinion the work of the Central Committee's Politburo and Secretariat could become more effective if fewer resolutions and other documents requiring a local response were passed, and if instead the supervision over and organization of their implementation were substantially better. Over the past two years the Central Committee has sent our oblast 235 Politburo and Secretariat resolutions, 114 memoranda, work plans, assignments and measures, 81 joint resolutions by the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, and other documents averaging one per day. Preparation of these numerous materials by the Central Committee and the appropriate responses by local organs are very time-consuming for members of the party apparatus, to the detriment of real organizational work with primary party organizations."

"We feel that the UkSSR CP Central Committee Secretariat, and in particular Comrade A. A. Titarenko, second secretary, should direct and coordinate in a more clear-cut fashion work by departments with a view to substantial reduction in the number of documents created, and set strict standards with regard to their implementation. Furthermore, the Central Committee's Politburo and Secretariat should work persistently to raise the level of responsibility and standards required of the heads of the Council of Ministers, Gosplan and republic ministries for their sometimes unbusinesslike, formalistic approach to local requests and petitions, especially as they work to resolve issues pertaining to planning and the development of the social infrastructure."

"For three five-year periods now, in compliance with resolutions by the directive organs," said the speaker, "our oblast has carried out major construction of priority industrial facilities to the detriment of the social sphere; furthermore, many decisions concerning new construction were made over the protests of local organs. As a result, today our oblast is in 23rd place in our republic with respect to provision of housing, in 24th place in terms of the material-technical base of trade, and is substantially below established standards for the provision of hospital beds, clinics, preschool facilities, clubs and movie theaters. Yet the share of capital investment funds allocated for non-production purposes during the current year is only 24 percent. In view of that, how can we solve social problems?"

"In recent years the party obkom and oblispolkom have repeatedly appealed for support from the UkSSR CP Central Committee, the republic Council of Ministers and USSR Gosplan. The appropriate high-level decisions were made and commissions of experts were dispatched, yet effective measures to reduce industrial construction, particularly in Kharkov, have still not been taken. We would like to request that the members of the Central Committee Politburo, Comrade V. A. Masol, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, and Comrade B. V. Kachura, Central Committee secretary,

to give careful consideration to these matters once again and to approach the all-union government with proposals concerning regularization of capital construction in our region."

Evaluating work by the Politburo to develop the republic's agroindustrial complex, V. P. Mysnichenko said that recently positive changes with regard to fulfillment of the Food Program have been observed. However, the Politburo is still not giving enough attention to improvement of planning and management and of the style and methods of the State Agroindustrial Committee's operations. Obviously Yu. A. Kolomiyets, candidate member of the Politburo and chairman of UkSSR Gosagroprom, has delegated too much responsibility for the development and implementation of key aspects of this vitally important sector to his deputies and administration chiefs. As a result there is a great deal of irresponsibility, bureaucratism and formalism in the work of this large and highly paid apparatus. When the chiefs and specialists from subdepartments travel to an oblast they spend more time gathering facts and filling out various forms than they do rendering practical assistance locally.

K. I. Masik, first secretary of the Kiev Party Gorkom, said in his speech that the gorkom's account before a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo concerning the work of the city party organization toward implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress was a serious examination. During the second stage of restructuring the Central Committee has rendered the city party organization tremendous assistance.

"In our efforts to organize implementation of CPSU Central Committee resolutions" said the speaker, "we proceed upon the assumption that changes are gathering speed and that people are acquiring an ever deeper faith in the cause of restructuring. We share the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's conclusion that a great deal of time was lost at the initial stage, and that therefore by no means all possibilities were utilized. The working style of the party's gorkom and raykom are still not in step with the requirements of democratization and radical economic reform. Restructuring has still not penetrated deeply into the affairs of primary party organizations and labor collectives, and still seems to a large extent to be imposed from above. The inertia of old ways remains strong. The organizational and ideological groundwork is lagging behind the requirements of restructuring. The CPSU Central Committee has placed large and responsible tasks before our city party organization. We feel that the key to performing those tasks lies in transferring organizational and political work designed to lay the groundwork for restructuring directly to primary organizations and raising communists' level of activism and responsibility."

"We are all learning how to work under conditions of revolutionary renewal; we are seeking effective approaches and methods. The UkSSR CP Central Committee Politburo is also restructuring its work. This was

referred to in the report today. A great deal has been done, yet, in my opinion, by no means all that could have been done or, most importantly, all that should have been done. If we are guided today by lofty criteria, then one can conclude the following: the level of work by the Politburo and Secretariat of the UkSSR CP Central Committee does not meet the requirements of restructuring. The Central Committee does not always set an example for party committees with regard to mastery of political methods of leadership; it gives too little study to ways of ridding itself of formalism and outdated methods and of genuinely overcoming manifestations of stagnation."

"Some of the positions of the past are evident in the Politburo's account. There are places where it lacks depth in analysis of the current situation as well as specific suggestions as to what needs to be done, how and when it should be done, and by whom. In our opinion, the Politburo and V. V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Central Committee, have things to think about with respect to development of democratic principles in their own work. A step forward has been taken, but only a timid one. Why, for example, did today's report not include the opinion of Central Committee members concerning the personal contribution of the Politburo's members and candidate members, members of the republic government and heads of Central Committee departments to the cause of restructuring? As you are aware, this practice is widespread at oblast accounting meetings, and in my opinion has proven itself well."

"As restructuring takes firmer hold problems multiply, and they also become more complicated. We have no pat answers to them. I feel that the Central Committee should work together, as a board, to develop approaches, and should also confer more with party committees. The Central Committee's Secretariat and departments often lag behind events, noting their occurrence rather than analyzing the new situation in depth, making projections and proposing a concept for specific action. By no means all republic institutions and departments or all the mass media are striving to their fullest to realize the demands of the CPSU Central Committee concerning sharp reaction to manifestations of nationalism, religious extremism and fanaticism or the exploitation of various amateur groups for antisocial purposes. One gets the impression that many of our cadres, particularly ideological cadres, are not taking aggressive stances when they defend our class principles and ideological principles. The stance of Central Committee secretary Yu. N. Yelchenko in this respect should also be firmer."

"It was correctly stressed in the report that the most important thing for a party worker is not to merely note the existence of shortcomings, but instead to work resolutely to eliminate them, to set an example of a specific and businesslike approach and agreement between words and actions. Unfortunately, such an example is not being set by the Central Committee's secretaries and department chiefs, in particular Comrade F. M. Rudich,

chief of the Science and Educational Institutions Department, and Comrade B. V. Ivanenko, chief of the Culture Department. The practice continues of having departments prepare various memoranda which are then sent to local areas, along with a resolution by the secretary, for response. No one is against pointing out our shortcomings. But if we are to act in the spirit of restructuring then people need to be more conscious of their personal part in and responsibility for the elimination of shortcomings."

"In our opinion," K. I. Masik continued, "the Central Committee has not drawn up a clear-cut system for reacting to critical comments and suggestions which have been expressed, in particular at Central Committee plenums. For example, at the last plenum a number of questions concerning Kiev were raised. Six months have passed, but except for written explanations about whose jurisdiction various problems fall under virtually nothing has been done. I feel that the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat are not doing enough in matters of monitoring and supervision of execution. The influence of the Politburo, Secretariat and republic government on vitally important aspects of the development of our city is not very effectual. Special resolutions on Kiev have been passed repeatedly, but unfortunately they have often remained unrealized."

In his speech B. Ye. Paton, president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Electrowelding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton, spoke of the growing role of science under restructuring and of steps which must be taken in order to expand the output of scientific collectives and increase their contribution to acceleration of scientific-technical progress. He noted the constant attention of the Central Committee and its Politburo to the development of science and acceleration of scientific-technical progress. Our republic, which possesses a major scientific potential, is making a tangible contribution to our country's social and economic development. However, all is not rosy with regard to scientific-technical progress. "We frankly acknowledge," said the speaker, "that councils for the promotion of scientific-technical progress, which are essentially the basic element of our republic's management of that progress, currently exist in our republic with their present functions mainly because the natural economic mechanism for the introduction of innovations into the economy is not functioning adequately. It is time that that mechanism began to work to its fullest potential, so that the functions of councils for the promotion of scientific-technical progress take on a new direction and be focused on the truly strategic aspects of managing progress. This is an important matter, and one which requires a decision by the Politburo."

"It would be very useful to have Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat resolutions on the Superhard Materials Institute, the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Section and VUZs. Yet a large portion of our republic's scientific potential is concentrated in

industrial sector science, and it is no secret that often sector institutes either produce nothing, or else have been transformed into mere vassals of production. The greatest number of problems have accumulated precisely in that area, in industrial sector science. In our opinion, at the present stage of restructuring sector science is deserving of the Politburo's most careful attention."

Continuing, B. Ye. Paton commented on issues pertaining to the transition currently getting under way in this country from the financing of institutes to the financing of problems. "Without a doubt," he remarked, "this should have a positive effect in terms of increasing the timeliness of and practical yield from research. But, figuratively speaking, what we must do is try and solve a system of equations with many variables. The problem is that people approach science with the same cost-accounting yardsticks that they use for ministries and departments. I feel that self-financing should not be carried to unreasonable extremes in the Academy of Sciences, including its enterprises and experimental design production bases; otherwise our stockpile of theoretical groundwork could quickly be exhausted. We also should not convert interbranch scientific-technical complexes to a system of full cost accounting. In this area we need coordinated decisions by all-union organs, in particular the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and USSR Gosplan."

"It has been two years now since the beginning of the reform, one of the most important objectives of which has been acceleration of economic development on the basis of scientific-technical progress. What are we seeing in that regard? We observe with great consternation and alarm how, instead of taking an enthusiastic attitude toward scientists' achievements, some enterprises and even entire ministries have begun to sharply curtail their funding for research conducted at VUZs and by our Academy's institutes, and are now refusing to introduce innovations into production, including those innovations which have already proven themselves in other republics. I could cite quite a few examples, including some pertaining to the Electrowelding Institute, where, incidentally, 10 percent of our contracts have in effect been cancelled since the beginning of this year."

"We realize that most economic administrators are not cutting back on science just because they feel like it, but rather because they are being forced to do so in their efforts to maintain the profitability of their enterprises, close gaps in their social plans and support their own research institutes in every way possible. But in the final analysis all this is undermining economic reform. Therefore support by the Central Committee has been and remains the deciding factor in overcoming these dangerous tendencies. I feel that plans for management of scientific-technical progress currently being drawn up by the republic Council of Ministers should eliminate current difficulties with application by using a new economic mechanism. Obviously the UkSSR Council of Ministers should also bring up these issues before the USSR Council of Ministers."

The speaker pointed out that some ministries, as a rule those at the all-union level, are not paying enough attention to the Academy's expert opinions with regard to the creation of new heavy industrial capacities in our republic and real reductions in energy- and resource-intensiveness, and concerning the water-intensiveness of production. One graphic example of this was their de facto disregard for the UkSSR Academy of Science's conclusions concerning the ecological and economic inappropriateness of building a Danube-Dnepr water resource complex, in particular the closing of the Dnepr-Bug estuary, or its findings concerning a plan to renovate the Plant imeni G. I. Petrovskiy in Dnepropetrovsk, building what would in essence be a new metallurgical plant in the downtown area. The speaker stressed the need to amend certain already approved plans for distribution of productive forces within the republic.

B. Ye. Paton told of restructuring work within the Academy of Sciences itself, noting that the most important aspect of that work was to devote primary attention to the definition of priorities, the greatest possible support for major scientific breakthroughs which will bring profound, revolutionary changes in equipment and technology, and reliance on broad coordination of scientific labor on an international scale, in particular within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress by CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000.

Noting that the UkSSR CP Central Committee Politburo has thoroughly examined the operations of the Dnepropetrovsk Party Obkom's bureau and the violation by the obkom's former first secretary of the principle of joint decision-making, particularly in regard to cadre selection and assignment and development of the oblast's leading economic sectors, Yu. P. Babich, chairman of the ispolkom of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Soviet, stated that "the members of the obkom bureau bear the primary responsibility for these errors and violations. The Central Committee has rendered the oblast party organization specific, practical assistance in improving its style and methods of party leadership and in reducing cadre turnover. Serious lessons have been learned. And changes for the better are already visible in that oblast today."

"Last year plans for sale to the state of grain, sunflower seeds, vegetables, potatoes, meat, milk, eggs and wool were fulfilled, as were plans for the construction of housing, schools, preschool facilities, hospitals, clinics, clubs and other public and industrial facilities. Constant attention to the development of key industrial sectors on the part of party and soviet organs has made it possible to ensure above-plan production of coal and iron ore and to overfulfill plans for the production of pig iron, rolled stock, pipe, motor vehicle bodies and other highly important items."

"However, we were not able to organize production of consumer goods as we should have, on account of which we were justly criticized at a meeting of the Central

Committee Politburo in October 1987. Now we have approved a specific program designed to expand consumer goods production and paid services. There are also other shortcomings in the work of soviets, especially with regard to improved cattle breeding productivity and reduction of construction delays, and also in the functioning of law enforcement organs, the struggle against drug addiction and alcoholism and in the maintenance and proper allocation of housing."

Thereupon the speaker turned to several issues which in his opinion deserve greater attention from the Politburo. "Above all these concern the rational distribution and development of productive forces. For example, the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Plant imeni G. I. Petrovskiy, located in the heart of the city, is its largest environmental polluter and has a substantial effect on the health of city residents. Acting on orders from the republic Council of Ministers, in May of last year three alternative technical and economic renovation plans were considered and developed, and the oblispolkom made its decision and agreed to allow the renovation to proceed, on condition that the blast furnace and smelting shops be taken out of production. However, V. D. Gladush, deputy chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, on his own authority gave the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy permission to develop the plant, increasing production volume and retaining full metallurgical processing facilities; this had not been recommended in the findings of the TEO of the State Union Institute for the Planning of Metallurgical Plants and was also opposed by the oblispolkom and the republic's Ministry of Health, State Committee for the Protection of Nature and Academy of Sciences in view of its sharply negative ecological and social consequences. Is that restructuring? Matters pertaining to the development of key sectors of the republic economy should not be resolved without taking the opinions of experts into account. They should constantly monitor the Central Committee's sector departments and stay in personal contact with B. V. Kachura, Central Committee secretary."

"There is also no doubt that discussion of how to improve soil fertility and use agricultural chemicals appropriately is a pressing issue. Over the past seven years more than 70,000 metric tons of toxic chemicals have been applied in our oblast, at a cost of 150 million rubles. Many of them are not cost effective even when properly applied and do not produce expected increases in crop yield, yet they have a harmful effect on soil fertility, the environment and the public's health. Therefore," said the speaker, "further use of toxic chemicals both in the near future and over the long term should be within the framework of a system developed by the republic State Agroindustrial Committee, with specific recommendations issued for local areas. This matter is deserving of constant attention by I. A. Mozgovoy, candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, especially since the Ukraine is not making adequate use of biological methods of protecting plants."

Concerning work with cadres, Yu. P. Babich said that the category of administrators at the level of chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms should be subject to the attention of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers at the time of their selection and entry into the cadre reserve.

Pointing out the positive aspects of the Politburo's management of restructuring — specific analysis, stricter monitoring of plan fulfillment, greater attention to realization of such important programs as those for food, housing, goods and services, development of the social and cultural realms and improvement of the moral atmosphere in the republic — G. I. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev Party Obkom, stressed that "at the same time the Politburo is still not working hard enough to update its own style and is too slow in making the transition to political methods of leadership. Hindering factors are not always eliminated with sufficient consistency, nor are the processes of democratization of public and production affairs always developed at the proper pace. Cadres are not in all cases being reoriented toward new approaches, and discipline and order are not being reinforced in every way possible. There is no doubt that V. V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Central Committee, bears personal responsibility for these shortcomings, for the development of a new working style on the part of the Politburo and Central Committee secretaries, for ensuring that all their practical work is focused on truly major issues and on bringing about real increases in the effectiveness with which republic organs function."

"There are still cases of overestimation of the value of purely apparatus-related work, and there are still attempts to increase the party's influence on the situation in the republic through the adoption of more and more new resolutions and all manner of directives and recommendations. If we sum up all the guidelines sent down from the Central Committee, which numbered 352 over the past two years, and then add to them tasks and assignments issued by secretaries and departments, then we see quite a strict framework regulating our obkom, raykoms, gorkoms and even primary party organizations."

"On almost an annual basis the Central Committee passes a resolution concerning the development of vegetable farming in Kiev Oblast and improvement of the supply of fruits and vegetables to the city of Kiev. Each of these resolutions notes the difficult situation and contains ever harsher reproaches by the party, but the practical means of solving the problem are neglected, and sometimes even all sense of perspective is lost. There was also animated discussion of this issue at a meeting of the Secretariat last summer. As before, serious criticism was leveled at the obkom and gorkom first secretaries, while the heads of the State Agroindustrial Committee were only mildly scolded; the Secretariat agreed with our specific proposals, but those proposals were not included in the final documents."

"The Central Committee Secretariat should provide greater impetus for new-style work, not just through strict warnings, but also with party-like counsel. Comrade A. A. Titarenko, Central Committee second secretary, should work persistently to make new approaches part of the Secretariat's work and, as Lenin put it, force cadres to be independent and accept responsibility, demand the same of the apparatus, and liberate it from the bondage of paperwork."

"The Central Committee is rightly demanding a high level of execution from others. But that same quality is in a number of cases lacking on the part of its secretaries and members of its apparatus."

"Our party obkom has already on several occasions submitted to the UkSSR Central Committee proposals concerning development of a long-range plan for the development of the city of Kiev and Kiev Oblast as a unified complex; this would permit better utilization of productive forces, coordinated development of the infrastructure and solutions to pressing ecological problems. We have received statements of support and approval at virtually every level. Therefore there are grounds for several appropriate resolutions by the first secretary of the Central Committee, yet still the issue remains unresolved."

Making reference to the difficulties of bringing about economic reform, G. I. Revenko drew attention to the fact that some ministries are obviously not willing to pull their weight and have avoided specific work, essentially shifting their own functions to party organs. Central Committee secretaries and departments should swiftly and efficiently evaluate the situation, correct anyone in the republic who is in need of correction, raise the appropriate issues at the all-union level and work to resolve those issues.

"It is essential that our republic's authority be reinforced through action, and that we fight for the honor of Ukrainian brands. We have the possibility of raising production to that level. It is no sin to imitate the experience of our fraternal republics. Evidently there is simply a lack of enthusiasm and real initiative in that regard on the part of the UkSSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan, and the Politburo has not held them properly to account for that."

"We are all making responsible preparations for and expecting a great deal from the 19th All-Union Party Conference, especially with regard to intra-party affairs. It is precisely in the area of party work where the most remains to be done. It is difficult for frankness and exactingness to take hold, and a great deal of hyperorganization remains. We regard the passivity of a large segment of communists and the weakness of many primary party organizations as a major problem. Today this is the most basic unfinished task of our party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms. We feel that questions concerning

the role and place of primary party organizations and the status of their secretaries should be given special attention at the All-Union Party Conference."

"The object lesson which we draw from recent cadre decisions in a number of oblast party organizations, including our own, is unmistakable: collective decision-making organs should really be just that, and they should warn in good time of manifestations of an authoritarian style and not allow personal failings on the part of the first secretary to take root and spread. I feel that it would be advisable to introduce the practice of annual public discussion of first secretaries' accounts to the party committee bureau in order to reinforce control from below, and I feel that this practice should be formalized as a statute of the CPSU Charter."

Ya. P. Pogrebnyak, candidate member of the UkSSR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lvov Party Obkom, noted that "local work by oblasts under conditions of democratization has become more enthusiastic and at the same time more complicated and significant. All issues are being resolved publicly and openly, and people have gotten more involved with party and soviet organs. And things have become even more complicated because many acute problems have accumulated in the economy and the social sphere. These problems need to be resolved actively, swiftly and in an interrelated manner."

"Accounts by elected party organs have stirred people up and helped them to evaluate past actions critically and with a sense of responsibility and to define more clearly the main thrusts of the second stage of restructuring. Preparations for the accounting period provided an opportunity to analyze the oblast's problems in depth and outline specific steps aimed at resolving them. To a certain extent it has proven possible to eliminate the shortcomings which existed in our oblast party organization, chart new goals in the basic spheres of our oblast's social and economic development, mobilize a majority of primary party organizations for those tasks and increase administrative cadres' responsibility for final results."

"Our republic party organization faces major tasks in this ambitious period. In a report presented to the plenum by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the UkSSR CP Central Committee, the Central Committee's work was self-critically and objectively examined. The Politburo and Secretariat are demonstrating persistence in their implementation of restructuring and are doing a great deal of ambitious work. As a rule, Politburo and Secretariat meetings include thorough discussion of current issues. New approaches to a number of the economic tasks facing the republic have been developed. But the things which were done before are no longer adequate today."

"It is essential," said the speaker, "that working style and methods be improved. Our republic is complex, and it possesses a great scientific, economic and cultural potential. The role and responsibility of the Central Committee and its Politburo are very great. It is essential that the Central Committee Secretariat be oriented more clearly toward monitoring functions, and the Politburo toward analytical work and more in-depth analysis of the outlook of development in the republic, radical economic reform and deepening of democracy. We need to place more reliance on Central Committee members and more boldly submit economic matters to the Council of Ministers for settlement. Realization of this reorientation in the working style of the Politburo and Secretariat will depend to a considerable extent depend on you, Vladimir Vasilyevich, as first secretary of the Central Committee. This would make it possible to focus greater attention on major issues pertaining to the social and economic development of our republic and the administration of oblast party organizations. Then there would be fewer of the breakdowns mentioned in today's report."

"The Politburo and Secretariat should be in closer contact with oblast party organizations and with party gorkoms and raykoms, and they should give primary organizations more help in performing difficult tasks. The Central Committee apparatus could render substantial assistance at the local level, particularly with regard to summarization and dissemination of everything valuable and progressive from the restructuring period."

The speaker noted the role of the Central Committee in the resolution of regional problems and proportional development of oblast economies. It was pointed out that the Secretariat and Central Committee departments, in particular the Economic Department (Comrade A. P. Savchenko), should guide that work more actively, conduct monitoring and show leadership on a number of issues.

Touching on the development of the agroindustrial complex, the speaker said that "in our republic there are many untapped resources for increasing soil fertility and intensifying cattle breeding. Other sectors of the economy — heavy industry, construction and science — should become more involved in finding solutions to the problems of the agroindustrial complex. In this respect the Central Committee Secretariat, Comrade I. A. Mozgovoy, the Council of Ministers and Comrade V. A. Masol should show greater persistence. The secretaries of the Central Committee, and comrades B. V. Kachura and V. D. Kryuchkov in particular, should show more enthusiasm for and participate more actively in these matters."

"During the period of deepening democratization and glasnost our ideological opponents have stepped up their activities. They have intensified nationalistic and religious propaganda, as well as their efforts to undermine the confidence of Soviet people in restructuring. All

kinds of instigators and slanderers have appeared. Each oblast is taking counterpropaganda measures, but these are not always effective. These matters require more constant and more skilled coordination on the part of our republic's ideological institutions and ideological departments."

"Next year will mark the 50th anniversary of the reunification of the Western Ukraine with a unified Ukrainian Soviet State within the USSR. We feel that it is essential that a number of events dedicated to this important event in the history of the Ukrainian people be conducted in our republic. This would have great political significance."

"From the Politburo's account it is evident," said I. A. Lyakhov, first secretary of the Voroshilovgrad Party Obkom, "that the guidelines of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum are still being implemented only with great difficulty and tension. The experience of our oblast party organization will testify to that. You are all aware of the situation which arose in the buro of the Voroshilovgrad Party Obkom in one important sector of restructuring. We were helped in making the appropriate corrections in that situation by a strict and constructive resolution by the UkSSR Central Committee Politburo adopted in connection with shortcomings in leadership by our oblast's administrative organs. We are taking appropriate action, above all in cadre matters. The morale of our oblast party organization is now in good shape, democratic principles are being affirmed in the operations of party organizations, and the role of labor collectives in the performance of production-related, social and educational tasks is growing."

"As a result the situation in a majority of economic sectors has stabilized. We have overfulfilled our plan for manufactured goods production during the first two years of this five-year plan, and labor productivity is increasing in line with five-year plan goals. Our builders have met their goal for the construction of housing and other social and cultural facilities. We have met quotas for state procurement of all types of livestock products, potatoes and melons. Last year our indebtedness in connection with the sale of grain and sunflower seeds decreased. However, in a number of sectors of the economy the situation remains difficult."

"The obkom buro, considering the criticism contained in the report into account, has a great deal of work to do before it can fully meet the requirements outlined in the Central Committee resolution on our oblast. Many things need to be reevaluated, and we must approach the resolution of current problems in a new way."

"The main thing is work with cadres. It is our opinion that the UkSSR Central Committee Politburo is devoting constant attention to improvement of that work. Recently there was a reduction in the number of functions falling under Central Committee jurisdiction. This has met with approval at the local level. However, we

feel that not everything possible has been done in that respect. Specifically, the procedure for reaching agreement between the various levels of the Central Committee concerning candidates for the posts of gorkom and raykom first secretary is too lengthy. For that reason two first secretary positions — one in a gorkom, the other in a raykom — have remained vacant in our oblast for over a month. Obviously the very spirit of restructuring obligates us to make radical changes in the procedure for cadre confirmation; that procedure needs to be simplified and the more meaningful aspect of the process reinforced at the expense of its formalistic aspect."

"I propose," said the speaker, "that the confirmation of first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, excluding the gorkoms of oblast centers, be entrusted to party obkoms, which know the candidates through their practical work, not just through data they have entered on questionnaires. As always, we would conduct the selection process under the control of the Secretariat and in conjunction with the Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department. This dictates the further necessity of expanding competitive selection of candidates, accompanied by development of intraparty democracy."

"The formation of cadres reserves is also in need of new approaches. Formalism is still being allowed in that area. The reserve list often includes candidates who have only one virtue — their youth — while individuals who have had years of training in party work and who are competent often remain outside the reserve pool. It is no coincidence that in many cases replacements come from outside the reserve."

"I feel that the Secretariat and Comrade A. A. Titarenko, second secretary, should revise their approaches in this matter in order to avoid excessive regulation. This would be in harmony with the spirit of restructuring."

"And one other point. It was stressed in Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy's report that the work of the Central Committee must be thoroughly restructured, reorienting it away from inspections and toward the rendering of practical assistance at the local level. We wholeheartedly support that approach and feel that it should be the definitive one in the work of our republic economic administrative workers as well. But what are we still witnessing? During the last three months of 1987 alone 24 commissions from the State Agroindustrial Committee were in operation in our oblast. They functioned in the old way, competing to see who could 'dig up' the most shortcomings. In the field of agriculture Voroshilovgrad Oblast is one of the most difficult oblasts. It especially needs help with the develop of cattle raising, particularly with regard to selection and breeding work. Our republic State Agroindustrial Committee, which has major scientific and material forces at its disposal, should help us in this area. For instance, one way to start

would be by achieving the same results as our neighbors in Donetsk Oblast. Our climatic conditions and land do not differ greatly from theirs, yet their indices are much better."

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Pugo Speaks on International, Patriotic Education
Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 16 Jan 88
pp 1,3

[LATINFORM report: "Safeguard and Strengthen Our Friendship"]

[Text] On 13 January in Riga at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's House of Political Education, a conference was held of the republic's party, soviet, economic-management, trade-union and Komsomol aktiv at which consideration was given to the improvement of the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of the public.

Representatives of culture, science, education, public health, the law-enforcement agencies, the creative unions, and the mass information and propaganda media took part in the conference.

The conference was opened by B. K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, who also gave a speech. He said:

The bureau of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, having analyzed the work being done by the party, soviet, economic-management, trade-union and Komsomol aktiv to prevent the hostile attacks that took place in the past year and were of a nationalistic, anti-Soviet and pro-Western nature, have deemed that work to be insufficient. Because of blunders and omissions in the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of the working people, the good reputation of our republic, whose people have long been famous for their internationalist character, has suffered gravely. We, comrades, have failed to do enough work and have underestimated the danger of our ideological adversary's intrigues. Counter measures were taken slowly, very slowly. The necessary work was launched extremely late, after the first demonstrations that were hostile in essence and nationalistic in tone had already taken place.

It is necessary to analyze comprehensively and in depth all the flaws in the internationalist upbringing of the working people everywhere, and to take the sort of steps that will not only prevent provocation attacks but also—and this is the most important thing—eradicate the very possibility of a repetition of nationalist manifestations. Our blunders and our problems should also be examined from this standpoint.

First and foremost, evidently, it is necessary to admit that problems in internationality relations did not arise all of a sudden but accumulated for years. It is equally

true that the appearance of many of them was due not only to shortcomings in the actions of employees on the ideological front but also to blunders in economic, social and personnel policies.

A negative role, unquestionably, was also played by the phenomena of stagnation, the extensive means of industrial development, and the leftover principle in the allocation of money for the social sphere. We were poorly served by our complacency and our unwillingness and inability to examine the first indications of problems in internationality relations and to analyze them in a timely fashion.

As noted at the CPSU Central Committee's January Plenum, the mistakes committed in the area of nationality relations and the manifestations of them remained in the shadows for a long time. It was not deemed proper to speak of them. Instead of the objective investigation of actual phenomena and the analysis of real socioeconomic and spiritual processes, which are extremely complicated and contradictory in their essence, our social scientists preferred to create treatises of an upbeat nature, which sometimes resembled starry-eyed toasts more than serious scientific research.

The fact that party committees got carried away with economic-management problems also had its effect.

Over the past year only 15 plenums were held on ideological issues. Moreover, not a single first secretary spoke at them. What's worse, of those 15 only six were devoted to internationalist upbringing.

For a long time the anniversary approach or the 10-day-campaign approach flourished in work on internationalist upbringing, and there was no long-term program of action. The study of Leninist nationalities policy and the problems of internationality relations was poorly organized. For example, in our people's universities even today only 0.3 percent of the total number of students study in the Division of Important Current Issues in Nationality Relations and Internationalist Upbringing. It is no accident that people who at first glance are perfectly well educated cannot distinguish in debates as to where the national ends and the nationalistic begins, what the difference is between the language of internationality intercourse and the language of the state, what distinguishes the nationalist from the chauvinist, etc.

Not enough attention has been paid to the development of bilingualism. The need to master Latvian has been spoken of only in passing. And suitable conditions have not been created for the study of it. The mass media have inadequately treated questions of the inter-republic division of labor and cooperation and mutual assistance among the fraternal peoples. More has been said about what Latvia produces than about what the other republics supply to it.

Yes, and even we party and soviet officials—there is no use hiding it—have grown accustomed in our reports to boasting about the fact that our republic produces every other motorized bicycle, one in every six buses, and one in every seven washing machines in the country. And only rarely have we recalled that we receive every ton of coal and gasoline, every other kilowatt-hour of electric power, and every other ton of mixed feed from other republics.

Moreover, the overall balance is far from being in our favor, either. Thus, in 1986 our republic received for its development 900 million rubles more than it sent in output to other regions.

These are only a few blunders and instances of incomplete work. And there are, indisputably, more of them. Moreover, it must be taken into account that our ideological adversaries give a nationalistic coloring to every shortcoming in economic and social policy and in internationality relations. With the help of the Western radio stations they have inflated and continue to inflate each and every blunder and each and every contradiction into a nationality problem; they attempt to play on people's feelings and to plant mistrust in their hearts in the justice of our party's nationalities policy.

We also must not underestimate the negative effect on the minds and actions of people, especially young people, of persons who are hostile toward the Soviet regime. I have in mind the descendants of former manufacturers and large land owners, former employees of the police apparatus, the abettors of criminal gangs, and renegades of all sorts who long for the old times. And they still exist in the republic and love to make political capital for themselves on our shortcomings.

One may ask: Is it possible that the Communist Party Central Committee did not know before about the deficiencies in internationality relations? It knew. But only in the course of restructuring did we take a new look at the existing shortcomings in the internationalist upbringing of the working people. Restructuring, quite naturally, has sped up the growth of national self-awareness and increased people's interest in the problematical questions of history, culture and economics. The republic's party and soviet agencies have started to give more attention to solving them. Matters have advanced significantly in this sector in the past year.

A republic Commission on Nationality and Internationality Relations has been founded and begun to operate. A nationality relations sector has been set up in the Communist Party Central Committee. A comprehensive plan of measures for improving the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the working people has been drafted and is being implemented. A number of steps have been taken to improve the supply of foodstuffs to consumers. The Housing-90 Program has been drawn up and is

being carried out; it will make it possible to cut the waiting period for apartments in half. But in order to accomplish this, of course, a great deal of work will have to be done.

A great deal of work has been done in schools and educational institutions to improve the study of the history of the Latvian SSR. And additional 35 hours have been allocated to the course in it in the current academic year. The teaching of Latvian has been improved in many schools. Dozens of study groups and circles have been set up at enterprises and in organizations for people who want to study Latvian. The first language festival, organized on the initiative of the republic Writers' Union, has been held successfully.

Kirov Oblast Culture Days made a good contribution to strengthening friendly ties between our republic and the Russian Federation. A rubric called "The Culture of Internationality Relations" has been introduced in republic newspapers, and a number of useful articles on that topic have been written for them. More attention has started to be given to these matters by our publishing houses. A Latvian-Russian phrase book has been published in a mass printing.

A number of works on modern Latvian history have been published in a timely fashion. And two books, "Latviya na grani epokh" [Latviya Between Eras] and "Ot Daugavy do Vyatki" [From the Daugava to the Vyatka], were published literally in a matter of months.

That is far from a complete list of what has been done. And there are a good many measures that have been carried out after a long break, or for the first time. But that is still not a radical change. It is only movement in the direction of improving the internationalist upbringing of the working people. Much more remains to be done. It is necessary to once again critically analyze what has been done and the unsolved problems, and to promptly take effective steps to eliminate shortcomings in the area of internationality relations. If they are analyzed in a principled fashion according to the strictest standards, it will necessarily become clear that we are all to blame to one degree or another for the appearance of these problems. Some of us simply did not complete our work, others did something entirely different from what was required, and still others overestimated their contribution and prematurely contented themselves with their accomplishments.

It is probably not the time right now to identify who is more to blame and who is less. It is much more correct to concentrate our efforts on the accomplishment of the tasks that have been set. We all love our republic and take pride in it. It is, to all intents and purposes, our common home. That means that it is all of us, together, who should concern ourselves with putting it fully in order. Let me stress once again that the improvement of internationality relations is the concern not just of the ideological aktiv but of all party, soviet, trade-union and

Komsomol employees, ministers and enterprise executives, the creative intelligentsia and the mass media, and every Communist and Komsomol member.

In this work it is especially important that we act as a united front. Why do I say this? Because our actions are still quite often uncoordinated, as in the well-known Krylov fable. Although everyone seemingly has the same goal of improving the standards of internationality relations and strengthening friendship among people. Sometimes one even gets the impression that some comrades spend more time and effort on reproaching one another and disclosing new shortcomings than on eliminating them. And the hasty pinning of labels and unjustifiable accusations of some person or another of nationalism or chauvinism do no good.

Moreover, one can probably count on one's fingers the number of people among us who are nationalists or chauvinists by conviction. Everyday nationalism or chauvinism are much more dangerous and widespread. Some people contrive to interpret even ordinary everyday foul-ups as having overtones of infringing on their national interests. This is usually the result of inadequate education, sincere confusion regarding matters of internationality relations, superficial knowledge of the state of affairs in the republic, or the turning of one's own national "exclusiveness" into a fetish.

Or let us take, for example, such a term as "migrantis," which through someone's ill intent has started to appear in our newspapers and magazines lately. It offends a great many people who have come to work in our republic. After all, many of them have come to work here at our request. They have come because we lacked such specialists, or because no one from among the republic's indigenous inhabitants wanted to undertake a certain kind of work.

Some thought should be given to a more fitting term for that category of specialists, who help cover the gaps in our personnel policy. In our country, no matter which republic a person lives in or which nationality he belongs to, he is a USSR citizen with full rights everywhere. And it is impermissible for anyone to forget that anytime.

It is necessary for all of us to seriously engage in an analysis of the causes that have led lately to a drop in the percentage of Latvians among workers. This is plainly a negative tendency, and its direction should be changed. It is necessary to criticize not the workers who have come to the republic's enterprises but the executives who have done a poor job of combating personnel turnover, made inefficient use of local labor resources, and shown insufficient concern for improving working conditions. Yet many enterprises have the potential for increasing production volume without increasing their number of employees. This is demonstrated persuasively by the experience of the Daugavpils Chemical Fiber Production

Association. In comparison to 1970, the production volume there increased threefold, while the number of employees decreased by 13 percent.

This path of intensive development is finding increasingly broad application at Latvia's enterprises. This made it possible last year to reduce the number of industrial production personnel by nearly 4,000. What has been achieved is not the limit. It is necessary to go further along the path of the mechanization and automation of labor-intensive processes. The introduction of a charge for labor resources will undoubtedly play a role in speeding up the intensification of production. But it is not enough to place our hopes in it alone. At the same time, it is also necessary to seek possibilities for augmenting the republic's working class with workers of indigenous nationality.

Life suggests that party, soviet and economic-management agencies should more carefully consider the influence on internationality relations of decisions not just with regard to personnel, but also with regard to economic, social and ecological issues. And the more carefully considered these actions are, the fewer problems there will be in this important sphere.

We all must learn to distinguish national pride from nationalism and the national from the nationalistic. In this connection I want to recall the words of M. S. Gorbachev: "People's national feelings deserve respect and must not be ignored, but they also must not be played up to." It is necessary to notice in time when national pride turns into national arrogance and egoism. This is no easy matter at all. Nationalism knows how to dress itself up in various garments. In some cases it pretends to be a fighter for the preservation of the cultural legacy of the past, and in others it tries to capitalize on ecological problems or pines for thatched roofs.

And some people try to foist on us a debate about the "big" and "little" homeland. Even though the people's poet Oyar Vatsietis once spoke the final word on this matter:

To stride under the flaming and crimson torch
In the century of my Latvia.
But some people still like to prattle
About the "big" and "little" Homeland.
Whoever can talk that way has
Neither the one nor the other—
they don't exist for him.
He respects neither foreigner nor guest,
Nor does he respect himself.

Truly and persuasively said. The germs of nationalism love people who are sick with megalomania. They multiply where arrogance and a lack of self-criticism manifest themselves. Nonetheless, there is a true method for appraising a given phenomenon or given deeds. If they

serve to improve internationality relations and strengthen friendship among people and peoples, we welcome them. If they sow internationality discord, they must be combated.

It is clear that different comrades take different approaches to the problems existing in internationality relations, and that there are various appraisals of the reasons for their development and the ways of solving them. There is probably nothing bad about this. What is bad is that certain comrades try to pass off their own opinions as the only correct ones and attempt to shout about this as loudly as possible. Yet these are very subtle problems that cannot be solved with a shout or by over-emphasizing offenses and shortcomings. They require tactfulness, patience and painstaking work.

For all of us, regardless of the position we hold or our national affiliation, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's behest should be unshakeable. Recall that he called on people to show special sensitivity and circumspection in everything that affected the interests of every nation and nationality, and to take the special vulnerability of small nations into account. It is by no means easy to do that. For it has long been said that it is easy to love the whole world and much more difficult to love one's neighbor.

We must learn to respect one another more and to reckon with the other person's opinion and take his customs and traditions into account. We must learn to restrain our emotions even in the case of provocational attacks by people who have been infected with the microbes of nationalism or chauvinism. This is how Petr Stuchka once advised to respond to them:

When comrades turned to me with complaints about such matters, every time I gave them the only correct response: Yes, comrades, it is true that those who are criticizing you are nationalists, but there is only one correct way to act against one-sided nationalism—not to react, for your part, in the same fashion but to conduct yourself with restraint and tactfulness.

To put it another way: what are needed are patience, tactfulness and, I would say, special delicacy. Take, for example, the fairly widespread debates over the issues of Latvian-Russian bilingualism. There is no use concealing the fact that we have some people who believe that they can do perfectly well without Latvian. Others, for their part, demand that everyone who has come to our republic know it. And they propose to make the study of it mandatory. Neither are right. Leninist nationality policy does, indeed, presuppose that both languages will be used to an equal extent, and that both will enjoy equal rights in their operation and use. Unfortunately, we sometimes forget this. One need not go far to find examples. We may write a street name in one language only. We may not translate the name of an institution. We may not provide for the translation of speeches at a meeting. What is worse, a person may write some department a letter in one language and receive an

answer in the other. There is tactlessness and a reason to take offense for you! So these are by no means trivial matters. And we still must do a great deal in order that neither Russian nor Latvian be slighted in the sphere of everyday relations and in daily contacts.

In no case should people be compelled; it is necessary to develop an inner need in them for the study of languages and to create the most favorable conditions for that study. I think that the number of study circles and courses could be much larger, since we have many people who want to study Latvian. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the teaching of Russian in the schools and to do an even better job of explaining its special importance for internationality intercourse and acquaintance with the cultures of our country's fraternal peoples.

Some comrades suppose that Russian is the state language in our country. That is a profoundly mistaken error. The Soviet Union has no state language, i.e., a language that is mandatory for everyone. The USSR Constitution guarantees citizens the right to defend their interests in any language, the right to use any language in their life and work, and also the right to teach their children in any language. But it is not hard to understand that a person who speaks only his native language impoverishes himself, since he can only enter into contact with people who know his native language. And a person desires—and that is perfectly natural in our country—to go beyond the bounds of narrow national interests and expand his circle of acquaintances. This is where the need for a language of internationality intercourse arises. And in the USSR Russian is commonly recognized as such a language.

Not just the schools, higher schools and special courses, but the newspapers, magazines, television and radio should augment their contribution to language study. It is necessary to hold all sorts of competitions and quizzes in the study of Latvian and Russian and the culture of the fraternal Soviet peoples more often, and to make them more interesting. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, which has introduced a regular section titled "Let's Study Latvian," has shown good initiative.

We expect much more activeness of our creative intelligentsia. Its representatives must appear more frequently before Russian-language audiences. Such meetings will not only help people become more closely acquainted with Latvian culture, but also arouse an interest in the study of Latvian. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. For example, a Yanis Peters evening, at which Russian and Latvian were heard spoken to equal degrees, proved successful. Such evenings and meetings must be made into a good tradition. Even more attention must be given to language study in the schools and kindergartens. We must not reconcile ourselves to the fact that a shortage of instructors continually develops there.

The importance of language is great. But the knowledge of them alone is not the criterion for internationalism. It requires deeds, the actions of an internationalist. Can we possibly consider a person who arrogantly displays his exclusiveness and attempts to prove the superiority of his own nation to be an internationalist? Of course not. He is either an utterly unintelligent person or actually a nationalist. So in no case must we lose sight of the boundary between national pride and nationalism. And in order to better understand where one ends and the other begins, it is necessary to study more deeply the foundations of our party's nationalities policy and the dialectics of the flourishing and drawing together of nations.

This is especially important for the creative intelligentsia. Yet certain comrades believe that internationalism displaces everything national. That is an extremely erroneous view. Under the conditions of socialism, internationalization not only stimulates the drawing together of nations but also accelerates the flourishing of each one of them. You do not have to go far for proof. Tell me, when were there ever before so many writers, artists and performers in Latvia? When did the song and dance festivals draw so many participants? When did Latvian art ever before enjoy such renown abroad?

How can one not fail to recall here the words of our classic writer Rudolf Blaumanis? Is it possible, he wrote, that among us Latvians there will appear such a writer or poet that he will cast a shadow beyond the narrow boundaries of Latvia? Will there appear among us a talent so great that his name will be known in Europe? One can answer that there is hardly such a possibility. Huge waves cannot rise in a pond, and a stallion that is harnessed to a plow cannot grow into a famous trotter.

That is how Blaumanis saw his people's fate. Yet today the works of Latvian writers have been published in many languages of the USSR's peoples and in 20 foreign countries. And that is called a decline in national culture, a decline which the foreign radio voices trumpet at the prompting of the reactionary emigration, while certain home-grown journalists second them!

It is entirely appropriate to think about improving political instruction in creative collectives. Then there might be less confusion of terms and fewer erroneous theses. Quite naturally, improvement of the instruction of the creative intelligentsia—and not it alone—requires scientific studies of many problems in internationality relations. There is something here for the historians, sociologists, demographers and economists to work on. Life demands that this work be carried out as quickly as possible and in the most qualified fashion. Quite likely it would make sense in every creative union, following the example of the Journalists' Union, to hold a plenum at which it would be advisable to discuss the ways of

increasing its contribution to the improvement of internationality relations and the strengthening of friendship among peoples. And that contribution could be much greater.

I think that the proposal to establish a state prize for the best work of art by a Latvian master that glorifies and strengthens friendship among peoples merits nothing but support. It could even be named for someone, say, Zhan Griva, who was an internationalist not just in words but in deeds.

The mass media also should make significant adjustments in their work. They have learned to do a relatively decent job of showing and publicizing internationalism in the course of anniversaries, 10-day events and Friendship Days. But as far as our daily life is concerned, especially our family and everyday life, journalists have still done very little. It sometimes happens that a Latvian publication gives advice to Russian teachers, while a Russian publication gives advice to Latvian teachers. The result, instead of a benefit, is hurt feelings and mutual reproaches for tactlessness.

We must more rapidly give up this sort of thing and gain a more accurate notion of who will read a given article and what response it will find among readers. Editors must in no way take an unprincipled attitude toward articles in which a number of comrades, under the pretext of glasnost and the development of democracy, interpret the shortcomings and problems of internationality relations tendentiously and in a sensationalistic spirit, without making any constructive proposals. In every case it is necessary to think carefully what a given article will contribute to—the amelioration or the exacerbation of a conflict or problem—and only then to decide its fate.

Young people should be the object of our special attention. We must devote much more attention to the internationalist upbringing of schoolchildren and high-school students. "A person," said Comrade Gorbachev at the 20th Congress of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol, "is not born with the genes of an internationalist or a nationalist. Which he becomes in life depends on the person himself, his upbringing and society. And every new generation of Soviet people must acquire anew, every time, the sense of internationalism in internationality intercourse, joint study and work."

And it is our duty to help young people chose the right path and more rapidly understand the difficult issues of internationality intercourse. It is especially important to do so today, when there is a sharply increased interest in the cultural and historical legacy of the Latvian people. Let us be candid: the spirit of internationalism does not yet reign everywhere among young people. Frequently they have occasion to hear immature opinions from parents, relatives and neighbors, and these leave a bad trace. This is why it is necessary to detect an unhealthy influence in time and undertake to treat that ailment in

good time. Who should do this? Teachers, instructors and our Komsomol organizations. Internationalism must be instilled not just at friendship festivals but in every class and lecture, in hiking tours of sites of martial and labor glory, in LOTOS detachments and student detachments, and in joint work and recreation.

Without a doubt, the study of languages and history must be improved in the schools. It makes sense to develop and publish a guide for teachers telling about the historical path of Soviet Latvia in the family of the USSR's fraternal peoples. In our higher schools it would be a good idea to think about instituting a special course titled "The Development of Internationality Relations in the USSR."

Young people's political discussion clubs must be set up everywhere. And in them a candid discussion must be conducted on the problems of national culture, history and languages, and internationality relations. The best ideological personnel must be used for this work. Young people who have fulfilled their internationalist duty in Afghanistan must be invited more frequently to speak to audiences of young people. Our young people are educated, and they will figure out who they should follow. All that is needed is to speak to them honestly and frankly and have faith in them.

Party committees and organizations bear special responsibility for improving internationality relations and strengthening friendship among peoples. And this is perfectly understandable. They are the ones, first and foremost, that should rebuff the intrigues of our ideological adversaries, skillfully and consistently explain Leninist nationalities policy, and create the sort of atmosphere in labor collectives, creative unions and educational institutions in which any manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism will be simply impossible.

In accomplishing these tasks, in no case must reliance be placed solely on the old baggage of knowledge or on intuition. It is necessary to study people's opinions in greater depth and to take their interests more fully into account in work on internationalist upbringing. The time has come to establish a Center for the Study of Public Opinion under the Central Committee that would be able to pool the efforts of sociologists from the Institute of Party History, the Academy of Sciences, and Latvian State University.

Internationalist and patriotic upbringing should be extended to all social, demographic and national groups of the population. And it must be carried out in a differentiated fashion, taking the specific features of each of them into account. It is very important to make this work systematic in nature and to recognize that it should be carried out continuously, and not just before certain dates. It is necessary to work persistently everywhere to raise the standards of internationality intercourse, and to develop a kind of code of norms for the behavior of the true internationalist.

An example should be set by the first people—the executives of party, soviet and economic-management agencies. They are the ones who bear primary responsibility for the moral atmosphere in the collectives entrusted to them, and who are required to ensure competent approaches to internationality problems. Their duty is to unite people and bring them together, and direct their growing political and social activeness toward accomplishing the common tasks of socioeconomic development.

An extremely important task for party organizations was and still is concern for making the executive makeup of party, state and economic-management organizations reflect the nationality structure as fully as possible. And there is something to reflect on here. For distortions in one direction or the other have not yet been eliminated in the ministries and departments, the creative unions and the cultural institutions.

Whereas the Latvian stratum in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for example, is small, it is clearly large in the people's courts. Closer attention must also be paid to perfectly fine average figures. For in specific labor collectives, by no means everything is so smooth. Sometimes the entire "quadrangle" consists of people of the same nationality. This sometimes gives rise to negative attitudes in people and justifiable complaints.

The nationality structure of the republic's working people should also be more carefully considered in the selection of new party members. It is good that admissions to the party of people of indigenous nationality have increased lately. That tendency must be intensified.

More persistent efforts must be made to rectify disproportions in personnel matters, as well as other distortions in internationality relations. But in no case must this be done hastily and mechanically, for the sake of handsome report figures. Hurried but sporadic efforts, jumping the gun, and the forcing of changes are especially intolerable in this sphere. For there is a risk of going to the other extreme and adding new problems to old ones.

At the same time, in no case must we rely on the hope that everything will work out of its own accord, and take a wait-and-see position. Such a position in ideological questions impermissible in general, and especially now—in a period of critical change.

Party organizations should devote substantially more attention to clubs organized around interests, to various amateur groups, and to independent public associations. For the most part they contribute to the satisfaction of people's growing spiritual requirements and the realization of their creative potential. However, in some of them one finds figures who try to take advantage of the new forms of work for their own selfish purposes. Trying

to capitalize on the ideas of restructuring, they attempt to provoke a negative attitude toward the changes that are taking place and kindle nationalistic and chauvinistic attitudes.

A resolute and open rebuff must be given to these demagogues, their intrigues and politically harmful views and opinions must be exposed, and the initiative must be seized from them. We should intensify party, trade-union and Komsomol influence on these independent public formations and direct them toward good deeds, lead them, help them, and skillfully utilize people's growing social activeness to speed up restructuring.

All work to overcome negative tendencies should be carried out in close connection with the further expansion of democratization and glasnost and the improvement of party committees' and organizations' style and methods of work. All of us together must fight, through our common efforts, for the acceleration of restructuring. Communists and every patriot should cogently and persuasively defend the party's line in solving the problems that have accumulated, and resolutely rebuff any attempts to take advantage of the processes of democratization and glasnost to worsen internationality relations.

Events of the past year have shown that by no means all of our ideological personnel are capable of persuasively conducting debates and defending their convictions, and that some do not have such a deep knowledge of history and nationalities policy. This is a serious flaw that must be overcome and taken into account in the improvement of party instruction. It is necessary to learn, figuratively speaking, how to take the cartridges away from our ideological adversary before he goes on the attack. We must not wait for problems and conflicts to arise, but must prevent them from arising.

The improvement of internationalist and patriotic upbringing was and continues to be an extremely important, constant task for party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations. They should set the tone for this work. We have good plans. We have people ready to carry them out. We have the desire to raise internationality relations to a higher stage of development. And our duty is to utilize them as effectively as possible.

This is also discussed in a letter from the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee that will be sent to primary party organizations. In no case must the discussion of it be approached in a pro forma fashion. It should be a candid, principled and, at the same time, confiding discussion about what must be done at the local level in order to improve internationalist upbringing, raise the standards of internationality intercourse, and strengthen the spirit of friendship in labor and creative collectives. At these meetings some thought should also be given to

which problems must be analyzed at the plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which is planning to discuss these matters during the second quarter.

Today, comrades, it is very important to back up our plans with good and specific deeds. Everyone has the opportunity to do so. It is necessary only to increase one's work and value the honor of one's republic and one's people more. That will be the best manifestation of internationalism. The friendship of Soviet peoples is one of our most important gains, a gain of Great October. It is made fast with the blood of our fathers and grandfathers and their common struggle for our happiness. And we are duty-bound to safeguard our friendship with the same zeal as we safeguard the Daugava and the good name of the Latvian Red Riflemen. That is our filial duty, our sacred obligation.

Those who spoke on the issue under discussion included M. K. Rukmane, first secretary of the Kirovskiy Raykom, Riga; E. N. Ozhiganov, head of the Party Construction Section at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's Institute of Party History; Ya. Ya. Vanags, first secretary of the Madonskiy Raykom; A. Kh. Kraminsh, operator at the VEF [Valts Elektrotehniska Fabrika] Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin; L. K. Bublik, engineer at the Riga Electrical Engineering Plant; and R. Yu. Shalma, chief animal husbandry specialist at the Zelta Zvaygzne Kolkhoz.

Participating in the conference were Comrades E. Ya. Aushkap, A. P. Bril, Ya. Ya. Vagris, A. V. Gorbunov, V. I. Grishin, A. P. Klautsen, K. I. Nyuksha, Ya. Ya. Okherin, R. V. Praude, Yu. Ya. Ruben, V. P. Sobolev, S. V. Zukul, G. N. Loskutov and I. A. Priyeditis, as well as A. S. Lagno, an instructor in the CPSU Central Committee's Department of Organizational Party Work.

8756

Sumgait City Prosecutor on Investigation Into Recent Violence

*18300179 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
11 Mar 88 p 3*

[Azerinform report: "The Investigation Is Ongoing"]

[Text] As the republic press has already reported, the situation in the city of Sumgait has stabilized. Life is returning to its normal course; all industrial, construction, trade, social service, and food provision enterprises are functioning; and the municipal transportation system is operating. Public order and the right of the populace to live in peace are being safeguarded.

Correspondents from Azerinform and the newspaper VYSHKA met with I. Gaibov, Sumgait city prosecutor and senior legal adviser.

During the conversation he said in particular that law enforcement agencies had apprehended persons implicated in the violation of public order. A special group from the USSR Procuracy, in conjunction with local prosecuting agencies, is investigating the involvement of the persons being detained in the murders, assaults, and looting that took place. During the course of the investigation it was revealed that some of the hooligans belonged to the criminal element and had prior convictions, or were social parasites. This group consisted of people of various nationalities. The average age of those who were apprehended is approximately 20 years. Most of them are immature young people who were influenced by provocative rumors and inflammatory conversations concerning events in Nagorny Karabakh and Armenia. A total of 31 people of various nationalities perished at the hands of the criminal element. The investigators have at their disposal the materials that they need thoroughly to establish the degree of guilt of each individual who was involved in the crimes.

The city populace is providing a great deal of assistance to the investigating bodies. Among those who have volunteered their assistance, said I. Gaibov, are particularly many Azerbaijanis, who stood up for those of Armenian nationality who were exposed to danger at a very difficult time. They not only opened up their homes to friends, neighbors, and the relatives of victims, but also offered stout resistance to the outlaw element that had broken loose.

During the search for missing persons of Armenian nationality, I. Gaibov also noted, it was ascertained that many of them had found refuge with Azerbaijani families and that several had left for Baku. There are all kinds of rumors coming out of here. I can state officially that these rumors are unfounded, to a great extent exaggerated, and shrouded in fairy tales.

Prosecuting officials, I. Gaibov emphasized, are currently making the most strenuous efforts to ensure that not a single one of those involved in the disturbances escapes responsibility.

Murmansk Obkom Chief Discusses Restructuring
18000218a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by V. Ptitsyn, first secretary of Murmansk CPSU Obkom: "PRAVDA Survey On the Progress of Restructuring: Not Just To Get a 'Check Mark' — To Do the Job"]

[Text] [Survey questions] 1. What positive experience has your party organization acquired since the 27th CPSU Congress?

2. What difficulties and problems have you encountered in this work?

[Answers] 1. Recent accounting by elected organs concerning work to administer restructuring convincingly demonstrated that the changes which have occurred are to a large extent now setting the pace in party committees' day-to-day affairs. There is now much less empty rhetoric and pretense, and more exactingness and businesslike behavior. For the first time virtually everywhere certification of members of the party apparatus was conducted with preference given not to uncomplaining executors, as had been the case previously, but instead to active communists who know their jobs and think creatively. In Kandalaksha, for example, the CPSU gorkom first secretary was chosen from among three candidates running for that position.

We are currently seeing fewer measures taken primarily for the sake of "check marks," merely for the purpose of avoiding inspectors' reprimands. There are now fewer staffs and commissions, which were once fashionable. We have learned that it is possible to get along successfully without such formations, which often give rise to irresponsibility, if we place complete trust in and make stringent demands of those to whom a specific task is assigned.

Several aspects of the operations of our CPSU obkom have been critically reevaluated. After giving serious thought to why a portion of our decisions were not achieving their objectives, we came to this conclusion: often we have only ourselves to blame. Firstly, we "pressure" low-level branches of the party with innumerable directives. Secondly, we do not monitor compliance as we should. And, thirdly, we play down the role of gorkoms and raykoms as bodies fully empowered to oversee the implementation of party guidelines at the local level.

We have taken a new look at many things since the secretaries and other members of the obkom buro began to have regular meetings with members of the local party apparatus. Of course, such meetings were no rarity before, either. But previously those attending usually just mutely accepted exhortations or criticism. Now there is frank and animated discussion of specific matters. And that discussion is preceded by comprehensive checks on the operations of the party committee in question.

Analysis of the first steps toward restructuring indicate that in cities and rayons outdated methods are being cast aside and new ones sought more boldly and decisively than at the oblast level. Furthermore, people are quicker to rid themselves of stereotypes in those places where self-starting, competent individuals are promoted to positions of leadership. That is why, for instance, in the Severomorsk CPSU Gorkom since the election of P. Sazhinov to the position of first secretary a new member has only been accepted into the party apparatus when the communist in question has a recommendation from and wins a show-of-hands vote by an assembly of his comrades in his primary party organization. Furthermore, after one year has elapsed the new staff member must

give an accounting concerning his work in the gorkom before the people who sent him there. And in the Kovdorskiy CPSU Raykom (V. Kotenko, its first secretary, was elected two years ago) special attention is paid to communists' critical comments, and persistent efforts are made to achieve unity of words and actions.

I could cite many similar examples. And they all have one thing in common: if the obkom, gorkom or raykom directs its efforts toward solution of some specific, vitally important problem, then the activism of primary party organizations also increases.

Since the 27th CPSU Congress more detailed attention has been devoted to the study and molding of public opinion. Each week the obkom's Propaganda and Agitation Department informs obkom secretaries of the questions posed to lecturers and other speakers. Each month we get summaries of letters received by the editors of oblast newspapers, television and radio, as well as reports on the reaction of audiences to the topics of unified political information days.

We analyze citizens' direct petitions to the obkom in a systematic manner, following this rule: no signal should be ignored! Thus, after investigation of a number of reports by communists concerning improper actions by the leaders of Terskiy Rayon it was deemed necessary to relieve P. Medvedev, raykom first secretary, and M. Shitarev, rayispolkom chairman, of their duties. On the basis of workers' complaints our obkom recommended that soviet ispolkoms conduct a thorough housing inventory; during its initial stage alone that inventory has discovered 500 empty apartments and rooms. Residents' complaints also prompted the establishment of a city-wide "Dial 05" emergency service in Murmansk.

One real sign of change in our lives has been the increase in the number of people who call themselves the "technicians" of restructuring. Their path is definitely not strewn with roses. I know what a heavy burden was on the shoulders of Gennadiy Petrovich Yermakov, director of the Severonikel Combine (whose story was told by PRAVDA) but he did not bend, he endured. Yermakov is pushing technical progress and expanding production of consumer goods assertively, hand in hand with science.

Or consider Gennadiy Yakovlevich Makarov, director of the Murmansk Greenhouse Combine, which is currently producing vegetable yields per square meter as high as any in the entire country; people dream of being hired there. However, since he has been director Makarov has on 13 occasions received administrative penalties for... taking initiative. Including one for building a gymnasium. These are the kind of people we are now trying to support in every way possible.

2. Quite frankly, the difficulties and problems we have encountered in our restructuring work are incomparably greater than our achievements.

M. S. Gorbachev taught us memorable lessons about critical evaluation of the progress of restructuring during his visit to Murmansk Oblast. Among other things, we heard this bitter reproach of the party obkom and oblispolkom: "Water cannot flow under a stone." With respect to construction of housing, children's facilities and other social facilities, production of building materials and consumer goods, development of hothouse agriculture, and organization of cooperatives' operations we of course could and should do much more than we are doing. But in order to do so we must truly mobilize our own forces and resources and strive more boldly and persistently to achieve a resolution to pressing problems. In terms of their mood, noted Mikhail Sergeyevich, the people are sometimes ahead of us party members, and that is not a good thing.

Still today, unfortunately, we have not yet eliminated the administrative-command style of leadership, and narrow departmentalism, bureaucratism and superfluous paperwork are still not yielding their positions. Now a majority of our gorkom and raykoms, as well as the party obkom, are fully engrossed in matters which are in fact the prerogative of soviet or economic organs. We still feel strongly the sharp delineation of "spheres of influence," under which, for example, instructors from the Organizational Department have no contact with problems of an enterprise's social and economic development, while the various sector departments do not concern themselves with the level of intraparty affairs in their areas. There have been cases of two obkom departments, each defending its "departmental" interests, being unable to find a common language and arrive at a common decision.

In my opinion F. Morgun, first secretary of the Poltava Party Obkom, was correct when he proposed in PRAVDA (see the 1 October edition — editor's note) that we abolish sector departments under oblast party committees, in order to ensure party leadership in the economic and social matters in a comprehensive manner, through work with individuals, through cadres. And I propose that this be done after the establishment of production-economic administrations under oblispolkoms. In our organizational-political arsenal as well much remains to be purged and updated in preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. But some old things can, in my opinion, also prove suitable for the performance of new tasks. I can remember a time when tables of schoolchildren's school performance hung in places like factory shops, and communist parents were held strictly responsible at party meetings for the upbringing of their children. One seldom sees this today.

Means of visual agitation used to have a great effect. The simplest hand-lettered signs with the words "airplane" or "tortoise" on the board of indices, or the "poor workmanship screens," had a stronger effect on people than any of our present-day literary and architectural edifices.

Among the difficult problems of restructuring is radical "reconstruction" of higher-level administrative organs' approaches to the operations of their subdepartments in outlying areas. One example: party and soviet organs, with the support of scientists and the central press, have repeatedly proven that it is impermissible and criminal to destroy the already impoverished pine forests of the Kola Peninsula by clearcutting. It is high time that timber harvest quotas in our region be reduced. Yet all our entreaties fall on deaf ears. The USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry seems unwilling to look into the matter. In any event, our oblast has once again received a timber cutting plan which substantially exceeds our actual capacities... I feel that this results from the force of inertia.

12825

Estonian Buro Considers Bilingualism, Population Migration

18000218b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed report on meeting of Estonian CP Central Committee Buro held 19 January 1988: "In the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Excerpts] A meeting of the Estonian CP Central Committee held on 19 January considered the matter of further development of practical bilingualism in the ESSR. The Buro acknowledged the need to step up the work of party and soviet organs, public organizations, scientific institutions and educational institutions with regard to creation of appropriate conditions for and encouragement of the spread of Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian bilingualism.

Republic ministries and departments were given assignments in connection with expansion of the compilation and printing of the necessary teaching materials, improved efficiency in the language study process, training and retraining of instructors, and work incentives for those instructors.

Particular attention was devoted to the development of bilingualism among students. New programs for the study of Russian and Estonian will be drawn up and gradually introduced within the framework of an experimental curriculum.

There are plans to expand the network of courses for the study of Estonian and Russian at enterprises, institutions and organizations, and also to expand utilization of intensive methods of language study. It is recommended that ministries and departments, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms take steps to ensure practical bilingualism among those members of their staff who are directly connected with trace-related, household, medical or legal services, and with other types of public services.

It is recommended that party gorkoms and raykoms, gorispolkoms, rayispolkoms, the ESSR Trade Union Council, the ESSR Komsomol Central Committee, ministries and departments improve knowledge of Russian and Estonian among party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers, as well as among economic administrators.

There are plans to expand Russian-language broadcasting on Estonian television and radio in order to promote better familiarity of members of all nationalities living in our republic with its social, economic and cultural life; these broadcasts will be on Estonia's history, economy and culture, and will feature prominent ESSR public and cultural figures.

The Central Committee Buro also considered the matter of tightening checks on citizens' ESSR residence permits. It was noted that there are a number of shortcomings in this respect. In a number of cities and rayons in the republic too little attention is being devoted to ensuring a balance between labor resources and the number of jobs available. Some enterprises and organizations are improperly exceeding their deadlines for implementation of planned measures relating to acceleration of scientific-technical progress, improvement of their employees' working and living conditions, transition to new salary systems, reduction of personnel turnover and improved training of essential worker cadres, thereby creating the preconditions for the formation of a shortage of labor resources and a decline in the prestige of a number of specific jobs, professions and specializations. One direct consequence of these shortcomings is unjustified population migration, including the recruitment of workers from outside the ESSR. There are plans to tighten measures for economic influence, with the objective of making efficient use of existing labor resources, expanding the role of soviets of labor collectives in dealing with this matter, and raising the level of gorispolkom and rayispolkom responsibility for the regulation of migration processes, as well as the responsibility of the ESSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for monitoring citizens' residence permits.

Other matters pertaining to the republic's public, political, social and economic affairs were also discussed.

12825

MoSSR CC Plenum Reviewed, Press Silence on Problems Scored

18000224 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by V. Kachurin, special correspondent: "What Can the Party Organization Do? The MoSSR Communist Party Central Committee Discusses the Buro Report on Perestroika Leadership"]

[Text] Before this plenum, it was easier to find out the content of its report than, for example, the list of speakers. The main points of the report had been widely

discussed in worker collectives. As to the list, I was told that it simply did not exist. But as soon as the audience was invited to participate in the discussion, the presidium was snowed under with requests to speak...

It came to mind how speeches had been prepared earlier, how in various Central Committee departments speakers were coached at length what problems they were supposed to raise... Could it be that the old practice has been abandoned? "Of course, we talk to every speaker on the telephone," confessed to me one of the management staffers, thinking me rather naive. He was clearly implying that without his participation speakers probably would not have anything to say...

The leadership's overpowering style also remains much in evidence. In 58 ministries, state committees and departments of this relatively small republic, as well as at its enterprises, offices and farms, 219,000 employees perform managerial functions. Their share of all workers amounts to 13 percent. In other words, there is 1 manager for every 7 workers.

It is rather too much, isn't it? Unnecessary recreation of high level managerial structures at lower levels, splitting of managerial functions, slow transition of the economy to new economic forms create a propitious climate for bureaucracy. Let us be frank: managerial workers, be they at a ministry or an administration, a raykom or a gorkom, think of their desks as command headquarters. The style and methods of their work are the root of many entrenched shortcomings.

The prevalence of command managerial methods was described at the plenum by M.Karpova, a foreman at industrial group Tochlitmash and a member of the republic Communist Party's Central Committee.

"The time of behind-the-scene decision-making and of truth-for-the-chosen few is passed, and I do not think it will ever return. Today, every communist wants to know not just the rank of his leaders but their personal qualities as well; he wants to see their real business qualities, not the ones that exist only for show..."

Tochlitmash is going through hard times. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry had raised last year's plan by 11 million roubles. The group had to go all out, but it reached the target. Yet, right before the New Year, the Ministry sent out another order, to produce an additional 3 million roubles of output. How could they do it if Gossnab did not provide required inputs?

Every miscalculation or a poorly thought-out decision is a severe blow to the collective and could undermine people's faith in the new system of management. This is why foreman Karpova's appeal to the Central Committee buro is understandable: it has many more ways to

resist unforeseen steps by ministries and administrations and could pull the carpet out from under the feet of overzealous managers who spawn orders, paperwork and directives.

"The Central Committee buro considers it its foremost task to restructure party work and to improve and make more democratic the process of selecting and assigning employees," noted MoSSR Communist Party First Secretary C.K.Grossu in his speech. "We often spoke at plenums and buro meetings of the damage suffered by the republic from the bureaucratic centralism of the past, from the behind-the-scene isolationist style of management and from ignoring the interests of the people in many collectives."

Has it been possible to improve the situation a little, to break the flow, so to speak? I recall passionate, direct discussions at previous plenums, in which the style and the methods of the party's leadership of perestroika were harshly criticized and an open battle was waged against all those who breach party discipline, put gloss on things and report nonexistent achievements.

Lessons were, of course, drawn from the criticism, which has been reflected, above all, in the policy on human resources. Now, employees' ideological, moral and business qualities are being scrutinized more closely, and qualifications and interviews, to which until recently too little attention has been paid, now play a more important role. Questions of staffing are instilled with an increasingly democratic content; competitive selection of candidates and elections of managers by a secret ballot become widespread.

All this, of course, has been reflected in work. Nevertheless, the plenum noted that a large portion of soviet, party and economic employees have difficulties overcoming the shackles of old habits and conservative thinking and actions; many show a desire to drift in the wake of perestroika's march.

The following incident occurred at the textile and clothing factory Aurika, in Kutuzovskiy rayon. It was decided to choose the director by democratic means. Yet, the party raykom, wishing to expedite the process, approached the selection of candidates superficially and did not review the situation in the collective. The approval was given hastily, in just a few days. As a result, a man with a compromised reputation, one who had no right to head an enterprise, came to power.

This is an example of how "all-powerful" management could render any, even the brightest, idea absurd. Excessive meddling, unnecessary production of official papers and a passion for meetings are the shortcomings that were extensively and honestly discussed at the plenum.

"With the reduction in volume of official Central Committee information," noted M. Marchenko, the Brichanskiy party raykom's first secretary, "the number of telephone requests and instructions through department heads has increased sharply; last year, the raykom received 260 documents. Obviously, they call for various actions. Studies showed that 70 percent of the working day is spent preparing various activities, be it plenums, meetings, gatherings of party activists or other meetings. When are raykom employees supposed to have time to visit grassroot organizations and party groups, to do real work with the people?"

Incoming and outgoing paper is already counted by the ton. Six tons, in fact, was the figure given by B. Iovv, the Beltsy party gorkom first secretary. By an approximate count, this is how much paper, in the form of various reports, was sent last year by the city and rayon party committees to Kishenev. I can not vouch for the accuracy of the data, but in Beltsy alone, the speaker pointed out, this work was being done by 10 full-time employees.

"At times, we are too quick to produce decisions, hoping that under their onslaught the problems will disappear by themselves," said G. Kushnir, the republic's Minister of Culture. "In the past two years, the MoSSR Communist Party's Central Committee passed 250 resolutions. With such a high volume, bureau members simply have no time to follow up and check how the decisions are implemented."

It is clear that this paper boom stems from the desire to quickly rectify the accumulated mistakes. But resolutions are indeed so numerous (and they do sometimes duplicate one another) that this in itself weakens their impact.

Here is a typical example. More than two years ago the Central Committee ordered all offices and organizations to vacate village clubs and culture halls where they had moved on a so-called temporary basis. Yet, even today over 120 cultural and educational premises are still occupied by such tenants, even in those areas where, as party raykoms readily reported, cultural and athletic facilities have been set up in the villages.

The mania to report, to declare nonexistent achievements and to show off are also an offshoot of the thinking born in offices behind closed doors. What else could we call the fact that many cultural and athletic facilities still exist only on paper, in various reports. Or the mythical numbers, which travel from one official paper to another and which denote worker participation rates in various cultural events? What is behind those rates?

"Perhaps, there should be fewer events that do nothing either for the heart or for the mind," said at the plenum N. Tsyu, Kishinev party gorkom first secretary. "Perhaps, it is time also to review the existing guidelines on

the frequency of calling plenums and local meetings. Free us up from the overwhelming meeting fever and paper chase and perestroika will accelerate noticeably..."

Today, everyone should understand that the style of managing the economy or culture characterized by petty supervision and pressure, even outright orders on when, where and how things should be done, is unacceptable. It meets with an increasingly determined resistance and rejection from ordinary people. But how to get rid of it? Which diseases should be treated first? What exactly should be a priority?

The new general model of management of the republic's economic complex has been developed. It calls for a radical turn away from administrative and toward economic managerial methods, for the implementation of the forceful social policy of the party, for the maximum utilization of the human factor, and for the creation of conditions most conducive to the effective functioning of enterprises. The law on the enterprises has already taken effect.

The new model, incidentally, will narrow sharply the scope of activity of various administrators, will reduce the number of managerial entities in the republic by one third, and the number of managerial employees by 50 percent, and will eliminate intermediate managerial layers.

In the run-up to the plenum the Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, together with the MoSSR Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute, conducted a poll of elected party official and administrative staff. What is it that has been slowing down the work of managing perestroika in the republic, they were asked. It is significant that among other reasons, the respondents named, in particular, the following: the relatively low competence level among party officials.

It is heartening that public opinion was studied when questions for the plenum were being prepared, that newspapers, questionnaires, sociological studies, call-ins were used more intensively and that outside meetings of the bureau were held more often... Party gatherings at which elected entities reported on their direction of perestroika encouraged glasnost, criticism and self-criticism. Their participants made 20,800 critical comments and suggestions, including 1,675 that were directed at the highest party organs.

As you see, there is plenty of criticism. It is being tolerated, people have started to get used to it. At this plenum, too, it seemed that passions have calmed down and diminished; it passed evenly, smoothly and without particular emotions. The impression is that people are tired of words, of endless talking. They have probably said everything they wanted to say, and know full well

what they should be doing. The question is how. There are still no examples, no useful experience; there has been no practical meaningful progress in the economy.

Leafing through recent issues of the republic party newspapers, it is hard to understand what is going on in Moldavia. Local papers are oversaturated with large official articles. Every issue contains identical detailed reports on plenums, meetings, gatherings of party activists, sessions of soviets, administrative meetings and various congresses. Such oversaturation, noted at the plenum M.Yeremiya, editor of the party newspaper MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE, leads to a distorted view of what really happens in the republic and in its worker collectives. The impression arises that the only thing people do here is meet and discuss things.

Last year, for instance, the newspaper offered its readers over 800 reports. In all, they took over 300 newspaper pages. What is left there to cover other events of daily life? Does the Central Committee use newspaper space productively when it orders various publications to print simultaneously identical articles and, more recently, also entire pages and foldouts? There has been a stubborn silence in the republic on the most pressing, acute problems, that have been often raised in the central media. Instead, following instructions from above, local papers have suddenly discovered on their pages entire veins and lodes of progressive experience...

Obviously, experience, if it is truly useful, is necessary and it should be sought out grain by grain and widely advertised. Here, however, everything is still done on the basis of a telephone call: there are still only discussions going on, but here there are already mounts of experience. Why do we need to invent experience, as before? Has the old passion for self-aggrandizement reawakened once again, like some spent volcano?

And here is another figure. In the past two years, the Central Committee received over 30,000 letters, twice as many as in the comparable period of the previous 5-year plan. People believe in a renewal, they want real, true changes. This is why they write letters and try to meet with officials... However, very few are successful. Instances of delays still persist, and this produces complaints to central authorities. Even at this newspaper we have received letters containing the same request: "Help us meet with..."

I understand, however, how difficult it is to meet all expectations, to live up to the trust. But, party organization has been called upon to skillfully direct perestroika. Everyone on its staff must be closer to life, to the people, to their demands.

12892

UkSSR CP CC Discusses Environmental Conditions in Cherkassy

18110054 [Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 5 February 1988 carries on page 1 a report of the UkSSR CP Central Committee deliberation over development of the chemical and energy industries in the city of Cherkassy. The Central Committee noted that environmental protection measures are not being carried out satisfactorily in the city, and called the attention of the Cherkassy gorkom and gorispolkom to their lack of control over measures guaranteeing favorable environmental conditions in the city. Additional measures to facilitate ecological work were discussed.

Taking part in the deliberations were V.D. Kryuchkov, candidate member of the UkSSR CP Central Committee Buro and secretary of the UkSSR CP Central Committee, V.D. Gradush, deputy chief of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, D.Y. Protsenko, chief of the UkSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, V.G. Sokorenko, first secretary of the Cherkassy gorkom and other officials.

Corrupt Official Maintains Post Despite Vote to Oust Him

18000255 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 10 February 1988 on page 1 carries an article which highlights the case of a corrupt director of an experimental lab, Kazimir Ivanovich Lapkovskiy, who has relied on nepotism to stay in office. Over the course of 17 years Lapkovskiy has supposedly driven the Lyubanskaya experimental laboratory into the ground.

On 31 January 1988 the Belorussian office of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA was visited by a person from the Lyubanskaya experimental lab. He informed representatives of the newspaper that on 12 January 1988 a meeting of the workers collective at Lyubanskaya voted 320 to 47 to remove the director of the lab from his post. Lapkovskiy, however, appealed to high republic and oblast officials who were his relatives and friends. These officials have begun to pressure the collective and the raykom to forestall Lapkovskiy's firing.

The visitor pleaded for the newspaper's "protection" and "assistance" in quickly publicizing this "critical situation," which the collective felt "powerless" to oppose.

First Election of Editor by Uzbek Newspaper Staff
18300135a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
6 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by G. Shakayev, correspondent for PRAVDA VOSTOKA: "They Elected an Editor."]

[Text] I will mention the experience of S. Abdushamayev when the collective of the Galabinskiy rayon newspaper LENIN YULI refused to accept his assignment as the newspaper's editor. Of course, it was annoying. But all the same . . .

"They were right. They thought it unreasonable to trust a complete stranger who had been assigned from the outside."

More than six months have passed since then. Abdushamayev has continued to work for his rayon paper — as a deputy editor — in an agency of the Tashkent party raykom — Shonli mekhnat.

And when the position of editor became vacant here, the rayon administration had the choice of assigning or electing a new one. And, who can tell, everything might have gone in the usual, old way, if it had not been for the initiative of the collective, "We want to elect him ourselves!"

There were three candidates. All of them were journalists, people who were known in the rayon and at the editorial office. Let us bypass the mechanics of the election itself. Let us just say that following a secret ballot, S. Abdushamayev became the editor.

Yes, the collective knows best who it can work with. Nevertheless, why was he elected in particular? We will explain.

The newspaper staff was presented with three programs. The campaigns of M. Pulatov and L. Yuldashev attempted to charm the staff with promises to create a high moral and psychological atmosphere in the collective, show concern for the needs of the employees and make the effort to work for the common cause in a friendly and interested manner. This, however, was S. Abdushamayev's program. Primarily, to direct all efforts, energy and potential to achieving the newspaper's profitability. To refuse any subsidies. To become financially independent with the aid of advertising and announcements. To increase subscriptions, which will happen if the newspaper's contents are improved. This will require the exertion of every effort and organizational skill, without anyone being exempted from considering his own position at the newspaper. In short, a rather severe and, it seems, frightening prospect. However, there were specific, convincing arguments for improving the outer appearance and ideological contents of the newspaper, precise, economically based figures. In addition, during the time S. Abdushamayev had worked

as deputy editor, he had managed to accomplish a great deal toward improving the newspaper. That is, people already trusted him and did not simply rely on his word.

And something else. During the debates and discussions of the candidates for the position of newspaper editor, S. Khodzhayev asked those gathered the following question, "Did S. Abdushamayev behave in a democratic way in line with the party on the eve of the election when he asked me to vote for him?"

I will not describe the reaction of those gathered to this unexpected statement. The question really provides food for thought. Even if it is about what kind of pre-election campaign there should be under the conditions of our reorganization.

In the given situation, to the extent my supposition is correct, S. Abdushamayev's answers only strengthened his position:

"First, I do not see anything criminal in this. It was a request and only a request. Second, why, being convinced that I am better than anyone else at dealing with this matter and able to be of benefit, should I show any false modesty? And finally, you have the last word anyway."

So, it is a fait accompli. What can be said for it?

First, and probably most important, is that people left the meeting with equal trust in each other and equally responsible to each other. By this I mean the new editor and the collective.

Finally, there is the hope that this first election in the republic of an editor by the collective itself will not be the last. At least, there is food for thought for the staff of this Galabinskiy rayon newspaper which for more than six months did not have an editor . . .

12793

Kirghiz Central Committee Scores Raykom Newspaper Performance
18300135b Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian
6 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party. Be a Rostrum for Reorganization."]

[Text] The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee reviewed the work of the Keminskiy party raykom with respect to the management of the newspaper EMGEK ZHARCHYSY in light of the requests of the CPSU 27th Congress.

The adopted decree noted that, in carrying out the decisions of the CPSU 27th Congress, the Keminskiy party raykom was paying more attention to its printing

agency, the newspaper EMGEK ZHARCHYSY (Work Herald). Its work plans are being reviewed in the raykom bureau and communication of information to the journalists has been improved. The newspaper is more alert with respect to asking questions, the writers' aktiv has been expanded and the flow of readers' letters has increased.

Nevertheless, the party raykom is underestimating the role of the printing agency as a rostrum for glasnost and an extremely important instrument for giving workers the incentive to fulfill the tasks of the five-year plan and solve the problems of social and economic development. Thus, this year the economic state of almost all the industries in the rayon has deteriorated, their profitability has decreased, the productivity of labor has fallen and the production costs for agricultural commodities have increased. However, the newspaper is not bringing up these issues and is not revealing the reasons for this lag. It does not contain any comprehensible or convincing articles concerning the key economic problems — cost accounting, self-financing and self-repayment — and it is not presenting a living example of reorganization.

The newspaper is superficially and unsystematically highlighting the life of primary party organizations and their work in the area of international and patriotic indoctrination in the workers' collectives. It lacks aggressiveness and alertness in the struggle against bureaucratism, drunkenness, alcoholism and other negative phenomena. No press conferences are held for the journalists, and they are not in the habit of meeting with the secretaries of the party raykom and managers of the soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic agencies.

The rayon party committee is not using its newspaper to develop criticism of shortcomings. In the last two years EMGEK ZHARCHYSY has not printed a single article about them. Articles criticizing Keminskiy Rayon, which appear in the republic's publications, are not reprinted. The party raykom has not instructed the journalists to carry on an open and honest dialogue with readers or discuss urgent problems. It is not by accident that any criticism in the newspaper is often not directed at any individual and is of a very general nature. Secretaries, executives of the party committee and administrators of the ispolkom rayon council practically never appear in the rayon press, and the occasional article from a few administrative departments reads more like a report about themselves written in a pretentious tone.

The party raykom is not making any exacting demands on those managers who are not reacting properly to criticism in the press and is not showing disapproval of any instances of its suppression which take place. After publishing approximately 70 articles containing criticism since the beginning of the year, the newspaper received only 15 responses concerning the measures taken.

The rayon party committee is not displaying the necessary concern about the selection and indoctrination of journalists and their professional, political and economic training. The newspaper is not holding readers' conferences, short guest meetings or creative reports for the workers of enterprises and industries. The rayispolkom is not taking measures to create normal conditions for the journalists in their working and private lives. Repair of the editorial building planned for this year has not been carried out.

The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee has brought the attention of the Keminskiy party raykom (comrades Dyushembiev and Imanaliev) to the serious shortcomings in the management of the newspaper EMGEK ZHARCHYSY and to the inadequate use of its potential in increasing glasnost, strengthening democracy and increasing the activity of the workers, and has demanded that the newspaper's editor, comrade Beyshaliyev, and the party organization of the editorial board mobilize the journalists' collective to intensely and competently highlight the rayon workers' efforts to fulfill the plans of the national economy, implement cost accounting, self-financing and self-repayment and strengthen discipline and order.

The newspaper should become a rostrum for reorganization, comprehensively show the life of the party organizations, indoctrinate the workers in the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, propagandize the standards of Communist morals and create an atmosphere of intolerance toward instances of gaining unearned income, misuse of official status, drunkenness, alcoholism and other negative phenomena. It should also inform the population truthfully about the work of the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol agencies and the decisions they make.

In accordance with the requests of the CPSU 27th Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the party rayon committee was asked to take specific measures to increase the organizational and indoctrinational role of its press agency in solving the key problems of the social and economic development of the rayon;

to improve communication of information to journalists concerning all questions of local life, to hold press conferences for them, to provide the necessary comparative statistical material, to hold regular meetings between the secretaries of the party raykom and managers of the soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic agencies and the editorial collective;

to direct the newspaper toward developing democratic principles in its work by better use of readers' letters, expanding the writers' aktiv, organizing correspondent and agricultural worker correspondent posts at the enterprises and in the industries, setting up reception of the

public by the editorial board, holding readers' conferences, short guest meetings and creative reports in the workers' collectives and open letter days;

to raise the level and effectiveness of criticism in the newspaper and to support its articles concerning principle questions. To provide an evaluation by the party of those officials who are not reacting properly to criticism in the press. To increase the responsibility of the journalists for the accuracy and authenticity of every article.

The party raykom, newspaper management and party organization should eliminate shortcomings in the selection and training of journalist personnel. In concordance with the Union of Journalists of the republic, they should put into practice an intereditorial exchange of personnel and work on probation in other newspapers and select better supernumerary writers who have a talent for the journalism profession and recommend them for training. The party raykom should periodically hold meetings with the newspaper's editor and the secretary of the party organization concerning the state of political and indoctrination efforts in the collective and the moral and psychological situation. Political, professional and economic training should be organized in the editorial office, veteran journalists should be recruited to take part in tutoring activity and fuller use should be made of the potential of creative competition to increase the expertise of the newspaper staff.

The Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee has instructed the Kirghiz Telegraph Agency to organize the

provision of the newspaper EKGEK ZHARCHYSY and other rayon publications with up-to-date and pertinent information and illustrative material with respect to the geographical areas and the specifics of their economies.

The party raykom has been asked to review the questions concerning the improvement of the housing and domestic conditions of the newspaper staff and repair of the editorial premises and take measures for their practical solution.

In accordance with the decree of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the republic of 28 August, 1986 "On Measures to Improve the Activity of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee on Publishing Houses, Printing, and the Book Trade, Soviet Council of Ministers (Goskomizdat) and to Develop Publishing Affairs in the Republic", the Kirghiz SSR Goskomizdat has been instructed, beginning the third quarter of 1988, to transfer the rayons' newspapers under the republic's subordination to centralized publication at the Chuyskiy Association, Polygrafist, using communication technology.

The editorial board of the newspaper EMGEK ZHARCHYSY should take every measure to steadfastly decrease the publication's unprofitability by increasing the number of copies, printing advertisements and announcements and reducing the waste of capital.

12793

Heritage of Political Terror Threatens Growth of Democracy

18000223 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* in Russian 28 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Nikolay Popov, doctor of historical sciences: "Individual Rights, And Something About the Ability to Make Use of Them"]

[Text] Some young drivers on the Komintern Sovkhoz in Priozerskiy Rayon, Leningrad Oblast, wanted to send a telegram to the oblast newspaper with a complaint about disorder where they work. They wrote about this in their letter to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Four times the communications division refused to accept their telegram (they then made as if to accept it, but it did not reach its destination), because they were "forbidden to accept it without the consent of the higher authorities." The authors of the letter ask, "Do they know about such disgraceful things at the Ministry of Communications? Or are the communications workers here themselves not to blame? Then who is?"

Who is truly to blame? Most likely the ministry would answer that there are no restrictions on accepting correspondence for the newspaper. And they would be correct, but only partly so. Because no one has given such an order. But then what's the difference whether it was the ministry or not; the important thing is that someone "up above" said not to accept unsanctioned complaints: give them free rein and that's what they'll write. It's not important who did the forbidding; what is important is that they are the authorities. Whatever kind they are, they are the "powers that be."

This distressing episode is on a small scale (and probably the situation has already been corrected and the drivers got what they wanted—the more so after publication in the central press); however it is indicative as an example of our deeply-entrenched antidemocratic traditions, the essence of which we must clearly understand if we want to learn democracy. A great deal is reflected in this episode: fear of the truth, and especially an inconvenient truth; fear of every unapproved initiative, of every spontaneous and democratic expression of the will of the people or of separate groups; and it reflects simple arbitrariness and unlawful action.

A lot of things are blended together here: lack of legal standards, vestiges of a slave mentality, fear of any kind of outcry, and in general—a muddled conception of power and the process of government in society. And it is in such soil that unlawful action and arbitrariness flourish; infallibly turning away everyone unsuitable, who think differently—or who are simply innovators, who with their activeness threaten to upset the established order.

Here is another example: long drawn-out disagreements have broken out; there was even a fight about the preservation of the old Lefortovo. There were admonitions, and arguments, and phone calls with veiled threats to the institutions where the activists of the Society for the Preservation of Monuments work. They do not help. You have to expose the defenders and give them a good scare. A state official issues an order to the police precinct to "call on the carpet" an activist from the society, a scientific research worker. A policeman comes at an ungodly hour to the home of one of those fighting for preservation of antiquities, gets him out of bed, and takes him to the precinct. There he is given a summons instructing him to present himself at the supervisor's office for a talk, which subsequently took place. And you ask, by what right? By no right whatsoever, or more aptly by unwritten law, in violation of the laws and norms of democracy.

One of the most important negative consequences of the past period of stagnation, and not only that of stagnation—this stretches back to the time of the cult and is a blend of the functions of all the organs of government—is the spread of uncontrolled power; and the decline of the role of the organs of justice in defending the rights of the citizens from arbitrary rule. We have lived for so long in the thrall of the idea that all our power belongs to the people that we have not noticed (and those who did notice paid the price for it), that this power was quietly assumed by various departments and organs of government, or by the "masters" of rayons, oblasts and republics; or by professionals or bureaucrats, and sometimes just simply passers-by. And it makes it no easier for us, that all of them are "of the people."

Also characteristic of the process of the erosion of socialist democracy was the fact that all the institutions for governing society were blended, in the popular perception, into a single concept—"the authorities." And having sown a strong fear in them, which is still ignited by not-infrequent instances of arbitrary rule and unlawful actions, they do not give the people an opportunity to become aware of their rights and to fight for them.

Start with the fact that the very concept of "democracy" needs rethinking. Any schoolboy will tell you what democracy is—it is the power of the people, it is popular sovereignty. Others will say that it is equality and equal rights. Still others stress discussion of problems in the open, and glasnost. From the dictionary you find that democracy signifies popular sovereignty and the guarantee by law of liberty and equality for the citizens. But socialist democracy is based on the elimination of exploitation and the victory of socialism, and on total and actual popular rule. Thus, all of this was achieved long ago—our Constitution is a democratic one, and most important, in all the elected organs and in general everywhere we have only the representatives of the people; the exploiting classes have long since departed. And if that is so, then it would seem we have nothing to improve upon. However, democracy does not end with this.

First of all, the election of representatives of the people to the organs of power is only the beginning of democracy; elections are only the first condition for democracy and not its guarantee. It is then that the process of governing society properly begins; and in order that it is not divided into the governed and the governing, into the masses and the elite, the people—and not only those who were elected—must take the broadest possible part in government. This means developing the widest variety of forms of direct democracy; and not only representative democracy, but self-governing collectives, nationwide discussion of laws, referenda, popular opinion surveys and other things which promote the initiative of the masses.

Secondly, it is important to finally work out a proper relationship between the citizens of the socialist state and its organs of power. It is time to rid ourselves once and for all of the fear of any and all administrative authorities; from the excess of, unctuous rapture in which the elected organs are held; and most important, to develop a mass political culture among the people, so that the people would understand that the citizens of the country and the organs of government have certain rights and responsibility in their relations with one another, such that not every chief is seen as Soviet Power, and that there are laws which must be carried out until they are repealed—and there are thousands of departmental, bureaucratic circulars and instructions, often thoughtless, stupid and harmful ones, and quite often even illegal ones, which are in essence unconstitutional, with which one must fight. Knowledge of one's rights and defending them is not capricious and not sedition, but evidence of the political maturity of the populace. Our power is of the people, both in principle and as a whole; however, every one of its representatives is a living human being, who socialism cannot guarantee to be free from mistakes, confusion and quite often weakness, or egoistic and selfish motives. Therefore popular control over the organs of power must not falter, but must be improved.

In general, the word "liberty" has practically disappeared from our lexicon. Of the three principles proclaimed for the first time by the French Revolution—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—we most often speak of equality and social justice; of fraternity many write as if it is considered naive; but liberty is mentioned only on rare occasions. And incidentally, liberty is an integral characteristic of democratization. Of course, our democratic liberties are guaranteed by the Constitution; however, the norms, manners and customs of everyday life are formed not only by the Constitution, but also by the multitudes of laws, circulars, instructions and prohibitions...

But liberty—that is primarily the ability and the desire to do that which is not forbidden by law. Under the present conditions of perestroika, liberty has an economic price as well. The economy and society as a whole cannot make progress, if the people do not want or cannot do

that which formerly was not acceptable—to experiment; to take risks; and to take responsibility upon oneself, not waiting for commands "from above." This naturally gives rise to resistance on the part of "chiefs" of every hue, those who have an interest in the instability of the established order, or in protecting the privileges of their institutions and their own personal easy chair.

Liberty, as we know from our school days is a "recognized necessity." Actually, life in society imposes certain limitations on personal liberty for the sake of the collective interests of everyone, for all of society. We have always stressed these limitations themselves. But liberty—that is also the understanding that these limitations are the same for everyone; that all citizens are equal before the law; and that, on the other hand, there must be no other limitations outside the law. How much any initiative has been pulled down, how many requests have been rejected under the pretext that, "this is forbidden by law" or that "this conflicts with our ideology." Even now, for example, some cooperatives are authorized and others are banned—"The law says nothing at all about this area of activity." Well, if nothing is said, that means it is authorized. No, it is better to wait a little... And what is sad, is that the people have developed a passive acceptance of the legitimacy of any chief, and are afraid of fighting for their own rights ("so as not to make things any worse"); and have from time immemorial blended all administrative, economic, juridical, party and all possible public organs into a single timorously deferential, semi-mythical conception of "the authorities". The process of democratization going on in our country presupposes discussion and rethinking of all of these interrelated conceptions which comprise the conception of "democracy"—liberty, authority, and the law.

Recently there has been an increasing number of articles in the press in which the problems of law-making are discussed. A great deal is being written about obsolete laws, hopelessly divorced from life—the more so from perestroika; on shortcomings in the work of the law enforcement organs; and on the frequent divergence of legal norms from the new norms of our lives, including the economic and socio-political norms. All of this is exceptionally important. However, no less important for the process of democratization is the strengthening of lawfulness, and the real separation of juridical authorities and law enforcement organs from the executive, economic, ideological and all other kinds; from pressure "from above," and from the intertwining of laws with "telephone" laws. Everyone can speak out, with respect to our new vices and virtues, and on our strange mores which have become widespread in the towns and villages, especially among young people, which have given rise to fashions and unorthodox behavior on the part of various "informal" groups. However, "forbidding," "rooting out," and "punishing" can be done only by special organs with the authority of the law, and only on the basis of law, and not by any nachalnik on the basis of his own comprehension of a homespun ideology and the age-old feudal reflex, so familiar in Old Rus—"Grab them and don't let them go."

Recently in our discussions, including those in the press, the perception has been spread that the principal enemy of perestroika and the hindrance of democratization is—bureaucratism. Unquestionably, an uncompromising struggle must be waged against it; however, I would nonetheless not consider the exact opposite of democracy to be bureaucratism. The exact opposite of democracy is more aptly called autocracy, dictatorship, or libertarianism—the separation of the people from genuine and total participation in the discussion of affairs of state and the governance of society. The period of libertarianism, just as the cult of personality, is behind us (although there are straightforward recidivists at the local level, and to judge by articles appearing in the press, there is a sufficient supply of them); but the norms and perceptions, and the style of leadership which was formed at that time, have been handed down like a congenital disease from generation to generation. And it is no wonder; for Lenin's norms of leadership were implanted on a semi-feudal country, which had not yet succeeded in assimilating bourgeois democracy. And after Lenin there were decades of perversion of socialist democracy. Unquestionably, a qualitative leap occurred in 1956 in the period of "the thaw;" however, during the period of stagnation as well, the principle continued to exist, both openly and in secret, according to which any chief, large or small, considered himself the personification of the State, the Powers, and he behaved accordingly.

A table of ranks took shape, where the chiefs at the same level and authority were brought together in a strange way—from the chief of city trade, to the procurator. And if a link in this system was corroded by vice, there would often be a mutual cover-up throughout the entire system. We are now aware of numerous examples such as this, whether it be in Uzbekistan or wherever.

Under conditions of omnipotence, precedence of rank, and fear of the leadership, libertarianism and clannishness of power has developed and continues to function in many localities. And if people appear who represent a threat to the security of the established order—be they irrepressible inventors, difficult managers or any kind of recalcitrant people, all mechanisms of rejection are switched on, and the difficult person quickly disappears from the public scene.

Right now the problem is not so much that the bureaucrats with their red tape are pouring sand into the gearbox of perestroika. The main hindrance comes from the desperate resistance of a stratum of people who have suddenly felt the instability, shakiness, and the "damage to the reputation" of the form of government to which they have become accustomed; from people who are losing their power; multifaceted power, based not on the law, but on an unwritten code of myths and norms: "there is the opinion," "they phoned from over there," "the boss is unhappy," "they said upstairs to cancel," "it is untimely," "it is not expedient," "the higher echelons will not approve," "the leadership sees things more clearly," and so on. What sort of juridical norms, or

presumption of innocence there are here, if you take an opposite tack—we have our doubts; and in case you had planned to take your complaint further, to Moscow... For this social stratum to operate under conditions of legality, glasnost, and democracy—is tantamount to losing its authority altogether: there are norms and limitations right and left, and everything is in view; deference and veneration would be lost to you; some kind of youth newspaper would make impertinent remarks; and just try to answer to the "grievances of the working people." The world you've become accustomed to would be torn down, and with it the feelings of your own personal worth, not to mention your well-being. Such things will not be surrendered without a fight. Many of them are trying to adapt; they are donning a new mask; and they have learned through decades of experience how to adapt to the currents "from above," while continuing to practice their old forms of rule less noticeably.

For the development of democracy today, a clear-cut separation is necessary in the functions of party (political), state and judicial powers. The independence of our juridical organs and court authorities from other organs of power and institutions is especially important in conditions of democratization of economic reforms and in the revolutionary changes in general in the life of our society—in order to guarantee the protection of innovators, experiment, quest, and risk from the opposition and arbitrariness of the people who are striving at all costs to resist the process of renovation. At present ways are being considered for improving judicial practice, the possible introduction of sworn juries, improvement in the activity of the procuracy, and changes to the criminal code. It is important that these changes precede other reforms, inasmuch as it is precisely justice in the courts that can ensure that the new laws are carried out, and guarantee the safety of the organizers of perestroika.

The separation of powers is also in consonance with the general direction of development of popular sovereignty, and with the greater independence of enterprises, social organizations, cooperatives, and individual people. The separation of powers must be accomplished on the vertical plane as well, in the direction of greater independence and freedom on the part of local government organs from the "center," from Moscow. It is stated right and left in our regulations and codes, that this or that government organ is "independent," and right next to that it says that it is subordinate to higher authorities. It has to be one way or the other; and if it is subordinate, then in what way, specifically. Under the new conditions we should once again look into just what democratic centralism is, and how it coincides with self-government.

The principle of leadership "from above" or from "the center" of literally all affairs in the localities has become obsolescent to a significant degree. Ask any young person of today, what parochialism is, and it is unlikely he will be able to answer; but we are all struggling with this

disease. If the local interests are in conflict with the "common cause," then it is not the local interests which are at fault, but the organization of the economic system which created this conflict.

The separation of powers goes hand-in-hand with the rejection of the administrative-command method of government. The principle should be as follows: to encourage the people to resolve and do by themselves everything that they can manage to do. The key factors in this process today are the local soviet—the city or the rayon soviet, and the enterprise—be it a state or cooperative enterprise. But to put it even more broadly: the key figure is—the person, the individual; and in order to realize his initiative, creative spirit and freedom, decentralization is needed, both the economic and administrative kind.

The development of self-government and the separation of powers closely coincide and rest upon the principle of the legitimacy or lawfulness of power. In principle, all relationships between a citizen and the authorities, and the more so all actions of responsible officials, must rest on precisely regulated statutes, based in turn on the laws.

Many of us have long since held the deeply-rooted feeling that, if one has to make a choice, one must decide "according to law or according to one's conscience," and that it is better to choose "according to one's conscience." For there are laws that we do not know of; and the law, as they say, "is like a wagon beam; it will go in the direction you turn it." Thus it would seem it is better to rely on the mercy of those who hold the power, on the conscience of the judges.

This is also a method, albeit an unreliable one. And if one is already fighting for one's rights, then one must know what they are. It is not a question of the large number of instructions, but that one could be assured, and that the administrative organs could prove to us, that an instruction is based upon the law. "By what right?"—this often rhetorical question must become a genuine requirement to prove the legality of injunctions, and the competence of the responsible officials. The "psychology of the supplicant" hinders us from taking advantage of the existing laws before one has to discover them and fight for one's rights, including in court. The means here are well-known—knowledge of the laws, the development of defense lawyers, juridical consultations, and appeal for illegal actions in the court... And what is no less important, is for the people to understand, that the authorities, just as they themselves, must follow the laws and that not every order from a chief—the postmaster at Priozerye, for example—is lawful. One must understand that rights are not solicited—one must fight for them. The basis for this, aside from Article 58 in the Constitution, is the recently-adopted law on the procedure for appealing to the court on the actions of responsible officials who have encroached upon the rights of citizens. We must, it is true, still learn to make use of this law.

Rethinking the role of the party organizations in the system of government is of exceptional significance in conditions of perestroika and democratization. It is no secret that party committees, both rayon and city committees, have turned into organs of management, and economic managers above all, duplicating the Soviets and controlling them. The ispolkoms use the very same command methods as the ministry; it's just that the latter have a little more power. And these methods are used primarily on the officials and supervisors of various institutions and departments—by the members of the party.

Rigid intraparty discipline has brought about a situation in which party committees in the localities are primarily concerned with preserving the existing procedure, whatever it may be. The main thing is not to arouse the anger of the higher authorities. This fear of the higher authorities, and the striving to above all report on successfully conducted "measures" are clearly visible in the accounting reports now being given by party committee bureaus on party supervision of perestroika. In the speeches of many orators, a genuine and courageous analysis of the obstacles in the path of the transformations is replaced with the traditional shop talk, and well-worn-in resolutions are adopted.

Certainly under the present revolutionary conditions, the leading role of the party must be displayed as never before in innovation, and not in conservatism; in demolition of obsolete procedures, and not in casting them in concrete. Party committees should be bringing social innovators into their midst; they should thirst after initiative, and not wait for a phone call from a higher authority—when they launch a campaign, be it spring planting, an ideological or a perestroika campaign. Presently it is as if we were awaiting a signal, when to begin the discussion before the party conferences. And it is already high time—there is less than a year and a half remaining. And all the questions of political power and democratization must be a part of this discussion, as well as any talk about perestroika.

09006

Readers Criticize Removal of Brezhnev, Voroshilov, Kalinin Names from Locales
18000228 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 p 3

[Letters to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA: "On Responsibility for Historical Truth". First paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] On 7 January our newspaper published the discussion comments of L. Kolodnyy entitled "Hello, Chermushki!". The author expressed his own personal, undoubtedly controversial, views on certain pages of our country's history. One-sided and unsubstantiated—that is how many readers characterized this publication in their responses. They said that the editorial staff was

hasty and uncircumspect in giving space in the newspaper for subjective evaluations of historical personalities. The readers warn against slighting the illumination of our history. We are publishing some of their responses.

Let's Not Fall Into Extremes

[Letter by I. Mironov, veteran of the AZLK]

I read your article, "Hello, Cheremushki!" with attention and concern. The matter here is primarily one of acuteness and unconditional principle of the topic. A rayon or city have not simply been given back their former names. The decisions made were political ones, in the spirit of democratization and openness which are entering our lives and our consciousness ever deeper. Some of the points in the article seemed correct to me, even though there was a sense of subjectivity in the interpretation of events.

However, many of the author's ideas evoked a different feeling in me. Evident here is some kind of slighting of the approach to major historical personalities and their role and place in our country's life. The fact that today the press has begun discussing this topic frankly, "peeling off" the layer of varnish from certain pages of the chronicles, is an encouraging and principally important fact. However, it is just as important not to go to the other extreme, not to issue black labels instead of pink ones, not to change traditional evaluations for opposite ones without an accurate, documented, and honestly presented argumentation. To make such "turnovers" along the way is a useless endeavor. The analysis of historical events requires a surgeon's scalpel, and not a cavalryman's sabre...

Time Will Tell

[Letter by A. Saburov]

I am not a regular reader of your newspaper, but recently I saw the issue containing the article "Hello, Cheremushki!". I would like to express my personal opinion. It seems to me that the author has in this case demonstrated courage in this situation. Generally, I believe that we should primarily deal with the matter at hand, with the solution of current-day problems, and should not be in a hurry to give new names to cities, streets and rayons. History will be the one to judge everything and to reward everyone according to his merits.

Only the Truth

[Letter by P. Supitalev, veteran of war and labor, retiree receiving a special pension]

I cannot help but express my opinion about the article, "Hello, Cheremushki!". Its author probably knows that an ideal personality in history is an extremely rare

phenomenon. Even in a high state position a man remains a man. He can make mistakes and have doubts. The fact that the price of these mistakes may vary is a different matter.

Of course, everyone can have his own point of view about one person or another. But here we cannot lose the sense of objectivity. And when we write about people who have played a role in the history of our party and the state, we cannot discount their achievements for the people.

It seems to me that lately certain writers have been in a great hurry to give their evaluation of some period in our history as quickly as possible. Yet in such matters haste is an unnecessary joke. Here, close, precise analysis is important.

I belong to a generation which has experienced all the hardships of war and difficulties of the post-war period. We are always inspired by the heroic examples of service to the Homeland by heroes of the civil war and veterans of the party. Today's youth also needs these examples.

Yes, truth is as necessary as air. And you must tell the whole truth about every person about whom you write, be he a political leader or a simple worker. You must tell both about his errors and about his achievements. It is only this openness which we expect from our press.

We Must Respect History and Learn From It

[Letter by B. Mukhin, participant in the Great Patriotic War and CPSU member since 1952]

One of the remarkable traits of the restructuring which is taking place in our country is glasnost. In the newspaper headlines, in the pages of magazines, on radio and television, and in the conversations of fellow travellers there are heated debates about the reasons and consequences of the lack of success in economics and in society which has occurred in the last decade, and of the means of overcoming stagnant phenomena.

In his speech devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October, M. S. Gorbachev said that there should be no "blank spots" in history, that the past should be evaluated with a sense of historical responsibility and on the basis of historical truth. However, in reading certain publications in newspapers and magazines, I see that it was not the effort to draw lessons from past mistakes which guided the author's hand, but rather the thirst for sensationalism or the desire to correct the past travelled by the people to suit one's own tastes. Efforts have been made to cross out entire stages of history such as collectivization, to cast doubt on the purpose of the price paid by our people for the victory in the Great Patriotic War. People who have not accepted October and who have left our country are presented as heroes, and there are

proposals to cast off the names of leading revolutionaries, devoted sons of their country, in the interests of "restoring violated fairness", as they would have us believe.

I recently read in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA (7 January 1988) the "Publisher's Notes" by Lev Kolodnyy entitled "Hello, Cheremushki!". The reason for the publication was significant—the restoration of the name to Cheremushki rayon and the elimination of the square named after L. I. Brezhnev in Moscow. This was a fair and honest decision which was adopted in accordance with numerous proposals of workers. And yet, if you will pardon me, I cannot consider the torrent of words on this subject in your newspaper to be good. It is disappointing in its light-minded manner and even its undue familiarity.

The author of the article evidently believes that he alone has the right to judge who has how many "unearned merits", and what and where names should be changed in our capital. He also touches on the "other Marshal"—Klim Voroshilov. Having casually noted that Voroshilov was a metal worker, fought bravely in the civil war, but moved up, as they say, through connections and "with the years this man was reborn...Why is a rayon in Moscow named after him?", asks the author.

The itch of "denunciation" pushes him still farther, and he selects Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin as his next target, the smiling all-Russian village elder, as the author tauntingly notes. The accusations are built around the same scenario. He did not object, he did not help his brother peasant... This is the simplified view of the living history of the people, of what has been lived, and of people. And, judging by the announcement of the article's author, his list is not exhausted by these names...

For us, the veterans, the names of Kalinin, Voroshilov, as well as other revolutionaries and military leaders have been and will remain the heritage of our heroic past. When history was being written with our own blood, they added bright pages to this manuscript. And it is dishonest and indecent to try to push them out of history, out of our memory, to offend some generations and to turn away others. It is a pity that during such a remarkable time of development of the October revolution we find writings in which a certain author, intentionally or unthinkingly distorts the events and the facts and tries to discredit the heroes of the past, and in essence also our order, our history, everything that is dear and sacred to us. This is what prompted me to write this letter to the editors.

12322

"Znaniye" Debate on Religion Described
18000194b Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in
Russian 13 Jan 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "An Attempt to Resume the Dialog"]

[Text] People of the older generation remember the popular debates between then People's Commissar of Education A.V. Lunacharskiy and Metropolitan A.I. Vvedenskiy, a prominent figure in the modernization school of the Russian Orthodox Church, enjoyed in the 1920's. But over the years, unfortunately, such open debates have practically disappeared.

And now the Kiev Oblast organization of the "Znaniye" Society has taken the initiative to revive the tradition by choosing Belaya Tserkov as a meeting place for atheists and believers.

For three months before the dialog, posters were pasted up throughout the city: "Who will save us if we have brought ourselves to the edge of the precipice?" People prepared for the discussion ahead of time and brought to the Central Library written questions they wanted answered by both representatives of religious communities and scientific atheists.

"Such a meeting is the first in our time," notes one of its participants, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, professor, and chief of the department of scientific atheism at Kiev Agricultural Academy Ye.K. Duluman, who at one time graduated from the spiritual seminary and academy and was a candidate for the clergy.

"The problem which prompted us to assemble can be called different things," added Father V.F. Zaliznitskiy, administrative priest of the Belaya Tserkov diocese. "Saving the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe or the struggle for peace against the nuclear arms race. The essence is the same here and hence, we have a common cause."

It would probably be strange if the discussion did not reveal different points of view and at times even clear echoes of the past in the tone of the discussion and in the lexicon of the participants in the dialog even though they were united on the main thing. Every now and then the speeches and comments contained mutual reproaches and insults, although they were spoken of as if in past times.

The discussion in Belaya Tserkov turned out to be interesting and penetrating and, most importantly, self-critical. The believers and the atheists clearly saw the prospect of possible cooperation instead of confrontation.

Clergy, Journalists Dispute Extent of Church's Control
18000192a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
12 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Yu. Kruzhilin, UzTAG correspondent: "Who Was Bitten By the Dragon?"]

[Text] The presses roared and tens of thousands of copies of SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA carried to the world journalist I. Khevrolin's interview with Aleksandr Lokhanov, dean of the Svyatnikolskiy Temple in the town of Kagan.

In itself, there is nothing astonishing in this fact. PRAVDA printed a letter from a Belorussian priest on youth education. Metropolitan Filaret took part in the Central Television program "Position." Such publications are new evidence of the affirmation of democracy and glasnost, of the constitutional freedoms of conscience, speech, and the press.

But let us ask our Bukhara colleagues: is there not, to put it mildly, a certain difference between the selfsame Filaret and the Kagan priest that found its way into the newspapers?

The first of these figures expressed the very true idea about religious legislation: only the strict observance of the laws by both believers and atheists guarantees both sides true freedom of conscience. The second was of a different opinion: "Our contribution (to peacemaking activity—Yu. K.) could be more considerable, but we are bound hand and foot by draconian legislation on religion dating back to 1929. We, i.e., churches, are forbidden to engage in any kind of philanthropy." He goes on to lament that Soviet laws do not permit the members of his congregation to contribute to the Children's Fund imeni Lenin.

Dragons are presently in fashion but are they sufficiently so to make us forget the facts? After all, it is a fact that the Uspenskiy Cathedral in Tashkent donates large sums to all philanthropic funds existing in the country, even to the five-year plan fund. Other Christian communes and adherents of Islam, Judaism, and other religions do the same. People sincerely donate funds for good causes. There is no law forbidding these noble impulses of the soul.

Or are the laws in Kagan different? Or was the one who fancied they are different bitten by the New Year's dragon? But then why did the journalist who conducted the interview not give first aid to the bitten victim? Why did he not rebuff statements that were no less strange?

As a result, Father Aleksandr acquired the taste and bravely threw himself headlong into politics. Of course philanthropy was not the issue. The Kagan dean was by no means the first who was not pleased with the fact that the revolution not in 1929 but back in 1917 irrevocably

stripped the church of the right to control capital made up of people's kopecks. Of the right to own temples erected by the genius and the labor of the people. Of the right to manage vast farm, forest, and pasture lands.

If the correspondent had reminded the dean of the modest little church of this fact, he would have saved him from delusions of grandeur: "The first sign that serious changes have begun to take place in the world is the fact that you are here with me today." Or are the Bukhara journalists unaware that serious changes "in the world" did not begin with I. Khevrolin's visit to Father Aleksandr?

The latter, encouraged by the representative of the press, is also already dissatisfied with the restructuring: it is supposedly not going the right way. It is necessary to inform the ispolkom about the number of rites performed.

The secret of the dissatisfaction is simple. And once again it is strange that the newspaperman did not understand it: the rites are performed for a fee. The church pays income tax and hence records must be kept. Alas, matters are occasionally carried to extremes in this delicate area at the local level even today. But after all, this is why we have perestroyka to defend our rights more confidently and to perform our obligations more strictly.

This concerns not only the priest but the newspaper as well. In addition to the right to choose the topic of its publications, it also has the obligation to implement the party line precisely. In particular, the party has through its policy secured the conclusion of a historic nuclear arms reduction treaty. It will never agree with the opinion of the Kagan priest who called this treaty virtually an empty piece of paper that was against the grace of God.

And the one who called it so was in the pages of the party press!

The interview with Father Aleksandr was published under the rubric "Facets of Glasnost: Everything About Everyone." The formulation was debatable. Deceptively simple glasnost has its thorny facets. Glasnost is not omnivorousness. It is not the subject of flirtation. Finally, it is not a game.

Our glasnost is a weapon in the struggle for more democracy and more socialism. From these positions and only from these positions, will we conduct an open, demonstrative, impassioned debate with any opponent be he a lord or the devil himself.

Perestroyka summons ideologically convinced, competent people under its banners. Otherwise there will be confusion as in the given instance. It must be admitted

that the erstwhile educator, the erstwhile janitor, and present priest Aleksandr Lokhanov skillfully exploited the political naivete of SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA reporters.

5013

Belief in Supernatural, Mysticism Persists Among Youth

18000192b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 Jan 88 p 8

[Article by M. Manuilskiy, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA correspondent; and V. Nemirowskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Dreaming While Awake"]

[Text] Why are some people fascinated by mysticism? Why is there widespread belief in the supernatural and in the possibility of communicating with the world beyond the grave? What must be done to bolster atheism's positions?

One of the authors of these lines, who chanced to be in the vicinity of the Bukinist store in Stoleshnikov Lane after a long absence, glimpsed two familiar figures at the literature-receiving window. These lads have earlier specialized in the resale of literature on the occult, astrology, and yoga.

There were enough horoscope enthusiasts to make the demand for horoscopes stable. But today the number of people desiring the prescription for the philosopher's stone or how to summon the ghost of Hamlet's father should be declining. There is no time for meditation. Times have changed. Modern times require energetic actions. The "practitioners of black magic" wholeheartedly supported the latter conclusion:

"The hour of truth has struck. Everything is said in the books of the prophets: the calamities that await us and how to be victorious," one of them concluded.

"Does this have to do with the 'wormwood star'?"

"That and other things. Everything has a celestial cycle. Do you remember how the entire country was buzzing last year? That was the year of the tiger! But in the year of the hare, you won't do much restructuring."

What is this? A practical joke? Is it poking fun at the uninitiated? Or is all this in dead earnest? Such doubts arise every time you see on television or read in the newspaper about the latest guru and his disciples, about a midnight sabbath in the apartment at 50 Bulgakov Street.

First of all, let us make one substantial correction. The long-cultivated ideology of uniformity in, or more precisely, of our ranks assumed that like-mindedness also reigned in the opposing camp. The only difference being

that it was pseudoscientific. In keeping with this tradition, fantastic and mystical ideas are usually perceived as an aspect of religiosity. Religiosity does unquestionably include superstition and belief in the supernatural. However, the latter are a separate, independent, and very widespread phenomenon.

According to the journal *SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA*, half of the 2400 polled graduates of vocational-technical training schools and secondary schools believe in dreams; 45 out of 100 believe in fortune-telling; 53—in omens; 46—in the existence of sorcerers and in being capable of casting the evil eye on people; 52 believe in the existence of telepathy and clairvoyance. One person in three expects to encounter a "flying saucer." Two out of 10 do not discount the possibility of communicating with the other world and of divine revelation.

Symptoms indicating that not all was well in the thinking of young people have been noted long ago. But the anxiety in this regard ultimately gave way to the hope that the common sense of young people would prevail. This conclusion was in part legitimate.

But at the same time, the results of the aforementioned study show that fantasies are very stable. And they are not merely a chaotic conglomeration of irrational or delirious ideas. They have their own strict logic that dictates (1) the view of life; and (2) the line of behavior. Ideas of the immortality of the spirit, the possibility of revelations from above, and of communicating with the other world are at the core of their perception of the world. "Flying saucers" serve as a means of "communication." Belief in fate, or more precisely, in fortune-telling, omens, and dreams by means of which fate can be "known" performs the role of a compass in practical actions.

The cited mythological specimens will evoke a smile in some. They are innocuous to others. In reality, however, belief in the supernatural is far from being a hollow fantasy. Addressing other-worldly forces and building a special superpersonal reality to which the highest truth belongs—all this becomes a justification for existing contradictions, for tolerating shortcomings, while at the same time foisting pseudoreal problems on people and sanctioning the struggle against them (for example, with worldwide freemasonry).

The principal evil of fantasies and mysticism is usually seen to lie in their total incongruity with the Marxist-Leninist world-view and the principal way of eradicating them is considered to be education and propaganda that expose the pseudoscientific nature of such views. Naturally there is a confrontation of ideas here. It is inevitable. However, it should not be forgotten that the choice of the philosophical platform—in the given instance, mythological—is based on faith. And where faith is the point at issue, the arguments of reason are not always taken into account. Unfounded criticism is harmful to

atheistic work and to the spiritual education of the individual, puts everything into one heap, and declares not only openly mystical ideas, but also unconscious ideas based on the historical and cultural memory of the people to be the prerequisite of ideology and morality. And, most importantly, there is a false interpretation of the causes of belief in the supernatural.

The "pseudoscientific" brand shifts responsibility for this to vestiges of the past, to individual shortcomings in education and upbringing, to irresponsible, hasty messages from the mass media, and to the sluggishness of scientists who have not researched something all the way. In a word, as Vysotskiy says: "Some frighten people with saucers—the evil ones are flying. Your dogs are barking or the runes are talking." But the crux of the matter is not that advocates of telepathy do not understand or accept the advances of natural science. To the contrary, they immediately seize upon any new result and impart to it a different, unscientific meaning in accordance with mythological legend. The most important thing is that it is used to explain not natural and biological processes, but social phenomena and life's collisions.

Of course, well-organized propaganda of scientific knowledge; serious treatment of the topic by the mass media; and the well-reasoned criticism of superstitions without pinning degrading labels on anyone—all this can and should play its positive role. And it must always be remembered that grains of truth grow into the supernatural from the soil that we have prepared for other, well-intentioned goals. And we must first of all realize that little "myths" (belief in fortune-telling, dreams, fate, etc.) naturally foster "big" myths.

Today it is no secret that in the period of stagnation, contrary to the declared principles regarding the planned nature of our system and its management exclusively in the interests of the people, society has been increasingly in the grip of spontaneous, uncontrollable processes. As a result, people gradually began to feel that they were dominated by blind forces that they were powerless to control, that the consequences of individual or collective activity did not in any way conform to the goals of this activity. They used their self-styled ideology in an effort to withstand and control the spontaneous forces. The myth was created about the inevitable process of socialism, about the fatal predeterminacy of our successes (the problems that arose were characterized as individual shortcomings that could not halt our successful forward progress). An irrepressibly optimistic (and essentially vulgar) view of the advantages of socialism was cultivated: any social measure under the conditions of the socialist system was progressive and beneficial to society and each of its members. Literally everything, even phenomena and measures that were very questionable from the standpoint of society's interests, was evaluated in this spirit.

Young people had the hardest time of it in the contradiction between declared principles and reality. What words were addressed to youth from the podium and the newspaper! It was the most active and progressive. It was the best educated and most convinced. All roads were open to it. The future of the nation was in its hands. However, youth was hardest hit by the period of stagnation. Youth had the lowest incomes compared with other population groups; youth had to wait decades for promotions and housing; youth had minimum possibilities for proper leisure pursuits; and prohibitions, prohibitions, prohibitions. The dramatic aspect of the situation consisted not only in the disparity between words and deeds—in the contradiction between proclaimed principles and their realization. The essentially humanistic, hard-won, time-tested goals were served up to youth as truths not open to discussion.

The realization of these principles demanded strenuous exertions of the will. Abstractly rational approaches, bureaucratic stereotypes devoid of intellectual fun and emotional appeal have predominated in the ideological sphere. A whole system of public rituals was developed (which, incidentally, also exists today) together with formal etiquette and unofficial forms of behavior—starting with standards for compiling personal records, methods of organizing "voluntary" subbotniks, and ending with initiatives and the election of delegates to Komsomol forums.

This evoked protest in some. In others, it generated a feeling of hopelessness. Still others felt that all they could do was skeptically view what was happening. "We are the children of colorless days," states one popular group in song. "We have not seen the sense of doing bad. We have not seen the chance of doing better. But we are able to dream—to dream of something bigger."

The nonacceptance of abstractly rational, pseudoscientific explanations of events inevitably gave the individual the desire to oppose the blind spontaneous forces dominating him with his own forces. But some young people found life support in the world of fantasy images, of other-worldly banners of the "wormword star" type, and in horoscopes.

It is not an easy matter to overcome fantasies, to help youth to acquire true reference points in life. Judging by everything, it will take no little time. Normalization of the spiritual atmosphere in society, the present economic reforms that are intended to promote stability and forward development, the positive changes that are taking place in the sociocultural sphere, the development of democracy—all this has in the past and will continue to take the ground from under the feet of mysticism and superstition. However there is also a need for spiritual work.

The elimination of stereotypes is an indispensable condition to the affirmation of the new thinking. It is incompatible with fanatical adherence to dogmas:

whether it is a conception that is divorced from reality or belief in the supernatural predeterminacy of events. The new thinking demands high principle, belief in one's powers, initiative, and inquisitiveness in the individual.

5013

Anti-Islamic Propaganda Aimed at Young Girls

18350414 [Editorial Report] Ashkabad MUGALLY-MAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 20 January 1988 carries on page 1 a 1000-word article by J. Saparov, director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Khalach Raykom, headlined "Atheist Propaganda Is Improving," on efforts being made to counter religious influences. Work has been concentrated in two sectors: demonstrating fallacies in the pilgrimages to local Muslim shrines and reducing religious influences among girls. In the first case, the author points out that the organization of guided tours for members of school atheist clubs to the rayon shrines of Ajy Gala, Asenmengli Gala, and the medrese of Idris Baba "enabled children to comprehend certain fabrications." In the second case, "special atheist sections" have been established in girls' clubs in the schools. In these, talks are given on "Islam and Women," "The Religious View of Women," and "Women in the Koran."

Leningrad Hosts International Church Conference

18000257 [Editorial Report] Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 6 February 1988 carries on page 3 a report on the Third International Scientific Church Conference held in Leningrad on 5 February. The conference focused on the theme of the cultural legacy of the Russian Orthodox Church and was dedicated to the "millennium of the acceptance of Christianity in Kievan Rus".

Attending the conference were church representatives from many countries, members of UNESCO, and Soviet specialists in the fields of architecture, fine arts and linguistics.

Aleksiy, Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod told a reporter from LenTASS that "unfortunately, public opinion from beyond the confines of the Soviet Union regarding our country is often slanderous and biased; the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church and religious organizations in the USSR are often based on disinformation. We are striving to set this right.... We have tried to give our guests extensive and objective information on the life and activities of the church in new social conditions as well as on the transformations occurring in the Soviet Union".

Officials Censured for Shortcomings in Work With Former Uniates

18110052 [Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 2 February 1988 carries on page 1 a response to a letter by V. Shlyakhtycha published in this paper on 9 December 1987, discussing the "serious shortcomings" in re-educating former Uniate-penitents in the village of Lisky, Kolomyiyskiy rayon, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast.

The Kolomyiyskiy gorkom upheld the criticism, stating that the party organization of the local kolkhoz "Zorya Komunizmu" was applying itself insufficiently in providing them practical help. Head of the council for atheistic education O. Semenyuk was censured for his failings, and V. Kostyshyna, secretary of the party organization, was forewarned in regard to these shortcomings.

Persistence of Religious Customs in Turkmenia Deplored

PM151225 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 88
Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent M. Volkov report: "'I Do Not Want To Kill!'"]

[Text] Turkmen SSR—"HELP! I do not want to kill, but this is the command of the inexorable age-old blood feud law—the Turkmen-chilik. Very soon my blood enemy, the murderer of my brother, is going to return to my native village and I will have no choice but to comply with the inhuman, barbaric custom of my forebears, which I, believe me, detest with every fiber of my being..."

This stocky, aging man, quite clearly on the brink of despair, walked into the correspondent's office with the words: "PRAVDA is my last resort!" And on the table he put the letter quoted above.

Beginning at the end, I will tell you that this affair—a Turkmen-style vendetta—caused quite a stir in the republic at the time.

Tagan Khydyrov and Amanshirin Yagdyeva, a young man and woman from neighboring farmsteads, fell in love. One day Amanshirin felt unwell. Her parents decided that it was something serious and took her to Geok-tepe rayon hospital. There the doctors, without even carrying out elementary tests, "diagnosed" pregnancy...

Later it was to emerge that the girl was blameless and that her beloved was innocent. But that was too late. The girl's father, who had arranged a more favorable match for her, took an ax and killed Tagan. Local and outside investigators spent 6 years (!) looking for Tagan—without success. Meanwhile almost everyone in the village knew perfectly well what had happened to him, and many relatives and acquaintances were actively

involved in covering up the crime. However, no one even dreamed of reporting it to the militia since the crime was "sanctified" by the same notorious Turkmen-chilik law.

This is an old story and there would be little point in returning to it, but for the fact that Allayar Yagdyev, whom the investigators from the capital nonetheless eventually managed to expose, is about to be released. In his letter to PRAVDA Tagan's brother Annasakhat Khydyrov asks, quite reasonably: Why have the officials to whom Khydyrov's family repeatedly appealed during the past anxious 6 years escaped responsibility? What assessment should be made of the connivance and silence on the part of some villagers? Why this obedience to the sharia?

"Father died of grief without seeing justice done," writes A. Khydyrov. "Mother has gone blind with crying. I am now the oldest in the family and I must carry the just cause to its rightful conclusion either by obtaining legal redress against the accomplices of the murderer or, if there is no other way, by means of the Turkmen-chilik. I am being pushed to take the latter course by the villagers' humiliating glances and insulting reproaches: 'Are you a man or not...' I am tired of ridicule. But I can be sure of one thing: If I do the black deed, they will help me in everything, even if I have to hide Allayar's butchered corpse in a fresh grave, they will help me just like they helped him."

It is impossible not to feel sympathy for Annasakhat in his dilemma. He is a worker with a 30-year unblemished record. And likewise it is impossible not to share his faith in our bright time—a time of social justice. Yet how much remains to be done to ensure that this justice triumphs everywhere without fail! No one has the right to walk on by when norms of socialist morality are being flouted; we must be intolerant of outmoded vestiges of the past masquerading as popular customs.

The mailbag of the PRAVDA correspondent's office in Turkmenia testifies, alas, that there are still plenty of examples of this. This includes the story cited here. How can anyone remain indifferent to this tale of the brutally shattered happiness of these people? And does not the silence maintained for many years by those around them demand radical measures?

Here is another letter. It was written on behalf of T. Byabekov from the Karl Marx Kolkhoz in Ashkhabad Oblast's Kirovskiy Rayon. A. Tashlyeva, his daughter-in-law, a hero-mother widowed as a result of a car accident and left in charge of 11 young children, decided to reject a request for the hand of her 17-year-old daughter. She told the suitor to wait a year, especially as he was in the village for only a short time on leave from military service.

Influential people intervened in the matter—A. Shikhiyeva, chairman of the Chapayevskiy Rural Soviet, T. Arrykov, chairman of the Kirovskiy Rayispolkom, A. Khodzhamov, chief of the rayon militia department, M. Shirliyev, the rayon prosecutor, and even Ch. Niyazmamedov, a Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee lecturer who was passing through. I do not doubt that they were pursuing a noble aim—uniting two young people who loved each other. The rayispolkom even adopted a decision to lower the girl's legal marriage age. However, they behaved far from tactfully and hurt the mother's feelings. Deeply humiliated by the denial of her right to raise her daughter until she was of age and to marry her off as she saw fit, the mother poured kerosene over herself and set fire to herself—not even the fact that she was turning 11 children into orphans could stop her.

The Ashkhabad party obkom report notes: Officials acted highhandedly and rashly. Is that all? The part played in this unseemly affair by lecturer Ch. Niyazmamedov—a party official with considerable experience, let me add—has been ignored. Yet he was most actively involved in the interview with A. Tashlyyeva and, like the others, paid no attention to her warning that she would kill herself.

After all that has happened it is awful to say that the wedding took place nonetheless. The price paid was too high. It was not love that triumphed but inhuman laws.

I discussed this at length with Sh. Kydyrov, candidate of sciences, demographer, and scientific staffer at the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences. He believes that in problems connected with the formation of young families the sharia and religious prejudices and bias still hold firm positions. Hence the tragedies which affect many newlyweds. Sh. Kydyrov pins his hopes on the recently established sector for family affairs in the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences (which he heads).

"However, our possibilities are very limited," my interlocutor noted realistically. "In order to overcome religious prejudices an extensive network of services to assist people, especially young people, is needed, and the Komsomol could contribute a great deal here."

However, to achieve this, every Komsomol organization and its aktiv must enjoy total confidence among young people.

Here, according to PRAVDA readers, much depends on glasnost in the work of the Komsomol and soviet organs and on the skill with which they tackle the difficult problems of the formation of families. In practice the picture is often quite different.

A. Khydyrov first took the letter cited at the beginning of this report to the editorial office of the republic newspaper SOVET TURKMENISTANY. Journalist V. Tikhonov prepared an article on the subject, but the editor B. Keremi did not dare publish it.

The same fate befell an attempt by Candidate of Sciences M. Annanurov, staffer at the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences philosophy and law department, who wrote an article for another republic newspaper TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA under the title "Sharia Marriage." The piece is very profound and instructive. On the basis of years of research the author illustrates in the article that marriages governed by the dark laws of the sharia still take place, that they have not become a thing of the past. They are frequently celebrated even after Komsomol marriage ceremonies have taken place. Numerous examples of this have occurred in Ashkhabad, Krasnovodsk, and Tashauz Oblasts. The scientist sounded the alarm in connection with the survival of bride money, the abduction of brides, blood feuds, and other religious customs. All this, he claims, is a direct result of the poor standard of atheist education in rural areas.

So what was the upshot? S. Atayev, a senior official of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, hearing that the newspaper was preparing for publication an article under the title "Sharia Marriage," asked to see the original without delay. A short while later the telephone rang: The article is not to be published... N. Sukhomozskiy, first deputy editor of TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, told me this with bitterness in his voice.

"It is true," N. Kuliyeu, doctor of philosophical sciences and director of the Republic Center of Scientific Atheism, develops this thought, as it were, "that the actual state of atheist education of the population has still not been subjected to a proper political assessment in the republic. Not so long ago, having familiarized myself with my new duties, I submitted my proposals to the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department for a radical restructuring of the entire system of atheist education. Subsequently a meeting was held at the Department whose only result was... an increase in gasoline allocations for cars servicing oblast scientific atheism centers. In addition, the republic center has been "reinforced" with Candidate of Philosophical Sciences R. Sayfullayev, who not so long ago received a severe reprimand and had his record card endorsed for immoral conduct..."

Here are two more testimonies.

"I compare 1925 with the present and I am pleased with the changes and proud of the achievements," D. Poltayeua, a party veteran and participant in the movement for the emancipation of women at the dawn of Soviet power, said at the last Turkmen women's congress. "We have overcome a great deal in our struggle against the vestiges of the past. However, old customs which are harmful and alien to our people are again spreading their poisonous tentacles. Women are again being sold and bought!"

A quotation from an official report:

"And what is particularly alarming? Schoolchildren and young people frequently fall under the influence of the clergy. In recent years the level of criticism and principledness with regard to these phenomena has noticeably slackened. Many party, soviet, and Komsomol organs at local level have adopted a formalist approach... Individual work is supplanted by shortlived campaigns and the compilation of statistical data. Bride money and forced marriages have not been eradicated, hence the cases of self-immolation among women and girls..."

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee is seriously concerned about this. In the middle of last year a Central Committee Bureau session was held at which a principled analysis was made of work to combat vestiges of the past. However, so far there are no real changes at local level. Many party and soviet organ leaders are swamped with day-to-day affairs and never take time to attend to important ideological and moral tasks.

It is impossible to cope with these matters without the help of the public. What is needed are concerted efforts on the part of scientists, cultural workers, and the news media. There is also much scope here for the country's lawmakers. Turkmenia is a southern republic, young people attain physical maturity early here. However, under Article 16 of the Matrimonial and Family Code the legal age of marriage is 18 or over. In the Ukraine, for instance the legal age of marriage has been lowered for women, as indeed it has in some other union republics, local conditions have been taken into account.

These are very important, crucial questions which affect many people. And there is no time to waste. Life is

making urgent demands. Recently I called at the Ashkhabad Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration. I read a recent report:

On 5 January this year K...V, born 1970, and Z. O...A, born 1971, 7-8 weeks pregnant, jumped from a 4th floor window. Both were taken to the accident department with serious injuries. A note was found on Zulfia O.: "I, Zulfia, and Kurbangeldy have decided to die because our families, custom, and the law are opposed to our marriage. Today we will die to be together..."

Corrupt Official Maintains Post Despite Vote to Oust Him

18000255 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 10 February 1988 on page 1 carries an article which highlights the case of a corrupt director of an experimental lab, Kazimir Ivanovich Lapkovskiy, who has relied on nepotism to stay in office. Over the course of 17 years Lapkovskiy has supposedly driven the Lyubanskaya experimental laboratory into the ground.

On 31 January 1988 the Belorussian office of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA was visited by a person from the Lyubanskaya experimental lab. He informed representatives of the newspaper that on 12 January 1988 a meeting of the workers collective at Lyubanskaya voted 320 to 47 to remove the director of the lab from his post. Lapkovskiy, however, appealed to high republic and oblast officials who were his relatives and friends. These officials have begun to pressure the collective and the raykom to forestall Lapkovskiy's firing.

The visitor pleaded for the newspaper's "protection" and "assistance" in quickly publicizing this "critical situation," which the collective felt "powerless" to oppose.

Artists' Union Congress Held, New Chairman Elected

Delegates Debate Problems Facing Union
18000214a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in
Russian 23 Jan 88 pp 1, 2

[Report on Seventh Congress of USSR Artists: "The Civic Calling of Art"]

[Text] The discussion at the Seventh Congress of USSR Artists was lively, in the spirit of restructuring. Too many problems have accumulated and the fine arts have lost touch with the demands of the times and the spiritual expectations of society. And the congress courageously and openly named all these shortcomings.

Defending the principles of socialist realism was the leitmotif of most of the speeches—and that is the best basis for consolidating all the union's creative forces. Many speakers affirmed the artist's right to his own style and individuality of self-expression. Art cannot develop fruitfully without a diversity of personal styles and without innovative pursuits. The congress was unanimous in saying that creativity cannot be regulated from above; incompetent people who are remote from art cannot manage art. Voluntarism and an arbitrary interpretation of aesthetic values must be excluded from union practice forever.

The country's artists have shown deep interest in insuring that the fine arts regain their former status, occupy a high place in the people's moral life, and become conclusively honest and truly party-minded by becoming militantly involved in restructuring. A demanding, civic-minded artist today cannot remain aloof from those processes of revival by which the entire country is living, whether the subject is history, present concerns, or educational or ecological, ethical or social questions.

The speakers spoke passionately, laying aside the speeches they had written at home and parrying retorts. And at times it was not easy for the chairmen to interrupt those who violated the rules and good humor. The hall reacted energetically. Perhaps only the report was met sluggishly and without interest—unfortunately it did not contain a clear position and a program for the future.

But in the future there is to be a conference which must work up a new charter.

The decree adopted by the congress reflected all the major directions of the union's future work.

The USSR Artists' Congress concluded a whole series of congresses of creative unions which were held a year to a year and a half ago. We remember them and remember how they introduced changes—the times themselves were reflected in their intense debates. The present congress will also become history and we will direct attention to its lessons, but for now let us shift to the

Large Kremlin Palace and listen to the delegates. Let us say frankly: it was at times difficult for us journalists who prepared this report to shorten the stenographic reports—so few general words were found and the speakers' talks were so interesting and pertinent. So, let them have the floor!

On the platform—V. Sidorov (Moscow). Every artist has his destiny and his view of the creative process and this unique individuality must be carefully preserved, otherwise there will be no art. But at the same time we are a unified union. A great deal has changed recently. Freedom of thought and creativity are opening up the opportunity for the artist and the art critic to work at the command of their hearts and in accordance with their own convictions. And each one's conscience is becoming a moral standard in evaluating his own actions and creative accomplishments. But the artistic process cannot develop spontaneously, it must be focused on a particular result. And new works whose criterion of evaluation is truth—truth without which art does not exist—are the concrete result of our creativity activity.

There is a whole uncharted expanse of work facing us, continued the speaker. The problems we must solve are extremely complex ones. How we are to solve them—no one can give an exact answer to that. No one has a monopoly on truth. But even so it seems to me that one truth is indisputable: we must be a union where there is no place for suspicion and hostility and secret intrigues. We have a common cause, common goals, and a common responsibility to our people and to the country.

A. Lopukhov (Ukrainian SSR). We have decisively rejected distrust of young creative efforts. An example of that is the organization of the large republic exhibit "The Country's Youth" when young artists themselves were the initiators and members of the exhibit committee and members of the exposition commission. People did not simply come to the exhibit, they poured in. This once again proves that only real democracy—not bans, not canons, and not intervention by the leadership—can regulate art.

O. Savostyuk (Moscow) takes the floor. Today the focus of attention is shifting to the plane of practical affairs. Platform appeals should find their embodiment in creative workshops and at our exhibits. Turning to traditions is not only a tribute to the past but above all a living continuation of the succession of creative and social principles. And one of them is the active participation of all the union's members in the great accomplishments of their time.

Today the artistic life of the capital is diverse and dynamic. Exhibits are constantly opening, meetings with working people are being held, and artists are participating in creating the city's aesthetic atmosphere. For the further development of the capital's artistic culture, we must have an exhibit hall with appropriate equipment

and storage facilities. The constant shortage of workshops is a negative fact of the life of Moscow artists. Suffice it to say that half of Moscow's artists are unable to realize their potential because of the lack of workshops, and not all ispolkoms, to put it mildly, understand us correctly.

V. Zakharov, the USSR minister of culture, speaks. By no means passing off what is desirable as reality, one must not fail to note the first successes in overcoming stagnant phenomena in art. Competitive principles are being used more extensively for state orders, designing of statues, and monument structures, and professional and public discussions of new works are being held more often. Our art exhibits have become more diverse and reflect various directions of the creative pursuit. Nonetheless, major changes in the sphere of artistic creativity have not yet begun. The new opportunities for developing the fine arts, which the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree gives, are being realized sluggishly. Undoubtedly, certain central departments and local leadership organs share the blame with us for the delay.

I would not want you to get the idea, the minister says, that the Ministry of Culture has undertaken to proclaim its understanding of the reasons for the negative phenomena in the creative sphere from the platform of your congress and intends to undertake to eliminate them itself armed with orders, prohibitions, and directives of the administrative apparatus. No one, I believe, can replace the artists themselves and their collective will in resolving the internal questions of creativity. Another job is to resolve the conceptual questions of the development of the sphere of art and create favorable conditions for manifesting the professional and civic position of the artist. The collegium of the Ministry of Culture is now trying to resolve major problems of the fine arts only in collaboration with the governing board of the Artists' Union. I think that the question of changing the conditions of purchasing and expert commissions and art councils became pressing long ago. Their secret atmosphere and the lack of proper glasnost has been repeatedly criticized by the art community and in the press. A recent analysis of the work of the USSR Ministry of Culture State Expert Commission on fine Arts, for example, demonstrated that many eminent figures of culture on the commission have been on it for a substantial part of their conscious lives now. Despite the great respect for these people, we must not close our eyes to the fact that such conditions pave the way for subjective interests and tastes and partiality toward friends to flourish and lead to other members of the commission joining groupings in the creative milieu. The USSR Ministry of Culture has disbanded its expert commission and developed a new statute on it. The foundation of it is regular—no less than once every 2 years—renewing of the commission. We are creating a system which will provide extensive information on works being purchased, including those being purchased to show at exhibits.

At the behest of the party Central Committee, the Ministry together with the Artists' Union and the Academy of Arts has completed preparing a draft of the long-range plan for erecting statues and monuments of state-wide importance up to the year 2010.

The time has time to fundamentally revise our participation in international artistic life. No branch of Soviet creative life has such weak foreign ties as the fine arts. But the foreign public's interest in our masters has certainly markedly increased in recent years.

Then A. Mylnikov (Leningrad) spoke and mentioned the many deteriorated historical and cultural monuments. He said that at the insistence of the public, the Leningrad Ispolkom had adopted a decision to restore the Aleksandr Nevskiy Cathedral. The governing board of the Leningrad Branch of the Culture Fund proposed to the public to set up a museum of the Patriotic War of 1812 in the Kazan Cathedral in Leningrad, where the remains of Kutuzov lie.

D. Skulme (Latvian SSR) devoted his speech to the role of humanitarian culture and to the significance of the artist's labor in today's society. Humanitarian culture is experiencing the enormous pressure of thoughtless management and technocracy. It has reached the point of open conflict between these two very important spheres. There is a direct link between the extensive economy, the consumer attitude toward nature, the thousands of destroyed monuments of history, spiritually illiteracy, and the degradation of the individual. It is naive to think that the ethics of labor and culture of production can be revived without universal humanitarian development of the individual and without his esthetic indoctrination. Democracy in art is tolerance toward differences, D. Skulme continues. But we must learn tolerance. That is the norm. How unpleasant it is to hear the biased speeches of colleagues where personal interests show through. The result of the artist's activity is not measured in hard indicators such as kilometers, kilograms, or percentages. Therefore art has remained, I would say, the last refuge of demagoguery.

The USSR pilot-cosmonaut V. Dzhanibekov shared his thoughts on the role of art in a person's life. He spoke with bitterness of the fact that interest in esthetic education in the schools has waned.

A. Osipov (Yakut ASSR) speaks. Less than 900 members of the Artists' Union live and work in all the vast region of Siberia and the Far East, while about 11,000 members of the union are concentrated in the rest of the Russian Federation. There is an obvious disproportion present. Many organizations of the Artists' Union in Siberia and in the Far East are not growing or are growing very slowly and have an aged membership. We cannot overcome this problem using invitations from the central VUZes—specialists must be locally trained. An attentive

attitude toward training cadres of artists from among the representatives of native ethnic groups of Siberia and the Far East is especially important now.

E. Pyldroos (Estonian SSR) dwelled on what the Artists' Union should become. In order to resolve these tasks, he said, the goals which must be achieved need to be precisely formulated. The main thing is the destiny of our art and our culture, and ultimately—the spirituality of our people. Many things in the old organizational forms of the union have become impediments to us. Both in the creative and in the organizational sense a minimally regimented structure and situation must be created which will orient the artist to healthy competitiveness and searching.

The deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy Colonel-General **D. Volkogonov** speaks of the importance of Soviet fine arts in the patriotic indoctrination of young people and present and future soldiers of our Homeland. He called upon artists to devote more attention to the military theme in their creative works.

Yu. Orekhov (Moscow) speaks of the fact that some artists are inclined to interpret restructuring in a fairly primitive way—restructuring and adjusting their creative works to the present day. No, we artists must not adapt ourselves. People before us did that and disappeared from the history of Soviet art. Our task is different: we are obligated to create the conditions to help develop the creative individual, and these conditions must be equal for all members of the union. What prevents us from keeping pace with the people who are restructuring their life? We lack a healthy creative atmosphere and healthy interrelations. We must fight for respect for our labor and make people forget the label of "superfluous" which was once applied to the fine arts. The Artists' Union must insure that economic planners include an article on the fine arts in expenditure plans. Look how our capital's streets and parks, gardens and public gardens, boulevards and squares are free of one of the most ancient and effective types of art—the art of sculpture. We propose holding an all-Union sculpture exhibition in Moscow, with exhibits in the Ring Boulevard zone.

Democratization and *glasnost* must not be introduced by increasing the number of representatives in exhibit committees, councils, and secretariats. **A. Uchayev** (Saratov) shares his thoughts. There have been a number of positive events and we are approaching a complex process when we must take courage and show tolerance, give life to works which did not used to be in exhibits, and look critically at things that are already worn out, tiresome, and outdated at the moment of their creation.

V. Stelmashonok (Belorussian SSR) joins the discussion. The possibility of not speaking of concrete work is frequently hidden behind the curtain of theoretical talk.

It has become fashionable to talk about crisis phenomena in art and of the shortage of constructive proposals and programs. But after all, each republic plans things and experiments for itself. We should more actively try to resolve our problems ourselves and start from the particular situations of applying the artist's labor in the state and national economic systems. That does not at all mean turning off the main creative road.

V. Ivanov (Moscow) notes that long before the congress and especially right before the congress a major problem came to the forefront in our meetings, conferences, and plenums: the problem of the attitude toward realist art—toward realism and socialist realism. The demand to exclude the word "socialist" and the word "realism" from the Artists' Union charter was persistently pressed forward. And this was done under the slogan of liberation from everything that impedes development and impedes restructuring. Yes, we really must rid our art of everything that has impeded its potential for expressing truth and has impeded the development of the art form—from the administrative approach to management and dogmatism. But "ridding ourselves" of realist art, of socialist art? It is not realism but our mistakes that are to blame for the fact that realism in art could not always be fully revealed. There is nothing more alien to stagnant phenomena than the art of realism. The concept "realism" and "spiritual freedom" are one. And can one really agree with those who say that in order to remove the barriers to the development of artistic creativity, the definition "socialist" must be removed? And this is today when we want everything socialist to ring out in its real significance and when we want more socialism!

A. Shiraz (Armenian SSR) addresses the creative destiny of the young generation. We often accuse young people, he says, of a desire for self-affirmation at any price, forgetting that such reproaches were at one time addressed to us. Youth have one indisputable advantage: they are the future masters. And in just a few years today's young people will determine the face of national and all Soviet artistic culture.

L. Golovnitkiy (Krasnoyarsk) reports to the congress that the decision of the party and the government to open a branch of the USSR Academy of Arts and an art institute has been realized. Artists have been given an administration building and offered creative workshops. Young painters and sculptors from the cities of Siberia and the Far East have been provided with all conditions for work. It is important to note that the Krasnoyarsk Party Kraykom and the krayispolkom, which at one time expressed a desire to take on the role of new center of the country's artistic culture, have done everything possible for the successful start of its activity.

V. Elkonin (Moscow) takes the floor. He notes that utilitarianism predominates regarding art, that is, the demand that art bring immediate benefit. It is precisely utilitarianism which is the main culprit responsible for that unquestionable decline in artistic culture which we

are now experiencing. What appears to be the goal of our congress? Creating an atmosphere which will to the greatest degree promote intensive creative life in the new contemporary conditions. Now this does not mean, fortunately, either creative like-mindedness or stylistic uniformity, as there was for many years. Schools are necessary in art and the struggle of these schools is also essential.

A. Chebykin, the Ukrainian representative, spoke of the artist's place in the country's present life, the professional level and professional studies, and art criticism and its role in increasing artists' activism.

E. Amashukeli (Georgian SSR) is on the platform. There used to be fairly frequent situations in the sphere of literature and art where the prevailing mediocrity began to brandish the banner of patriotism and openly or secretly opposed talent. This happened in film, the theater, music, poetry, and the fine arts. Such "figures" appear before us as defenders of realist art and champions of the prestige of Soviet art, but in actual fact by overemphasizing their own mediocrity a secret desire to compromise talented masters shows through in their actions. Such phoney patriots forget that the primary feature of talent is the pursuit of harmony not only in creativity but also in human relations.

A. Morozov (Moscow) reflects on the problems of criticism. It has perhaps become slightly easier to criticize now than yesterday. Still it is not so easy today to tell our esteemed leaders and the collective leadership of our union the truth which I as a critic believe proper to tell them: these years have not been years of an upsurge in our fine arts. No one among those at the congress can prove that it is experiencing a swift and clear ascent.

Ye. Mergenov (Kazakh SSR) talks of the fact that the condition of creative compromise which our art and knowledge of art has been in for decades is a heavy legacy. Overcoming it is a difficult and agonizing process. But it is the inevitable and necessary way since without such cleansing our art will not acquire the strength to fulfill its historic mission.

An administrative approach to management is in my opinion a destructive phenomena in any sphere of our activity, said **I. Obrosoy** (Moscow) in his speech. But in art relapses of administrative abuse are reflected in a cancerous tumor and lead to the destruction of the entire talented, unique, and individual essence of what we now call spirituality. The speaker examines in detail examples of this phenomenon which for many years was manifested in art as a braking mechanism and speaks of the inadmissibility of voluntaristic methods of managing culture. Only by freeing the artist from bureaucratic supervision and the incompetency of bureaucrats can we expect him to make creative discoveries and fulfill his social duty.

The commission chairman **S. Gorbunova** gave the report of the credentials commission. There are 20,720 members of the USSR Artists' Union. At the Seventh USSR Artists' Congress 852 delegates were elected. The age of the delegates: under 35 years of age—28 people; under 40—111 people; under 50—272; under 60—268; under 70—146; and over 70 years of age—58.

F. Khalilov (Azerbaijan SSR) is on the platform. Today a great deal is changing for the better. It is enough to look at recent art exhibits for a perceptible wind of change to be immediately felt. Let us recall "The Country of the Soviets" exhibit where the fine tradition was revived of showing the achievements of art of the national schools. But the artists' exhibit "Soviet Russia" most clearly demonstrated the spirit of democratization and the spectators received an opportunity to give a proper evaluation to such masters as Filonov, Malevich, and Pavel Kuznetsov, who formerly were evaluated only by those who asserted for a long time that the people would not understand them.

Art can and must help fulfill the party's policies if we consider ourselves helpers in the party's cause, **M. Anikushin** (Leningrad) begins his speech. Only realism has always inspired people and works created using it have become priceless and eternal.

Yu. Korolev, the director of the Tretyakov State Gallery All-Union Museum Association, reports to the congress on progress in work on restoration, capital repair, and new construction of the complex of buildings of the celebrated treasure-house of our art. The central building of the Tretyakov Gallery on Lavrushinskiy Lane is to be opened in 1990-1991.

S. Kuchuk, the delegate from the Moldavian SSR, dealt with questions of exhibit activity and problems of the republic's creative youth in his speech.

A. Panteleyev (Vologda) continues an idea which was expressed in many speeches at the congress—a solicitous attitude toward the monuments of cultural history.

Z. Khabibullayev (Tajik SSR) expresses the hope that the republic's government will concern itself with building exhibit halls and setting up art galleries.

No matter how pressing the questions we have discussed today, their resolution cannot be successful unless we define the main principles of our art and our artistic policy, says **B. Ugarov**, the president of the USSR Academy of Arts. Quite a few different proposals have been made for normalizing and improving the situation in the artistic milieu. Each of the ideas expressed is justified in its own way and has the right to exist. But supporting or disputing any of them hardly makes sense until we answer the main question for ourselves and for others: from what ideological-creative positions are we discussing them? What social and esthetic goals are we pursuing? How do we interpret democratization—as a way to

establish dominance and market relations in art and poetry, or rather, the anarchy of narrow-minded pseudo-popular tastes or as the revival and development of Leninist norms of cultural policy, a continuation of cultural construction, and spiritual revolution on a broader truly nation-wide basis? The multifaceted and complex nature of contemporary artistic life and creative practice and its inability to be reduced to a common denominator can in no way serve as justification for ideological unscrupulousness, lack of principles, or lack of worldview discrimination. I am certain that the lack of vitally important foundations and their vulgarization and speculation in spiritual values and ideals of socialism are the very things that account for many of the troubles of our artistic life. The struggle for the concept "socialist realism" would not be so socially acute if it did not represent an understanding of the living truth for which we fight. It is lies rather than the real conquests and achievements of Soviet multinational art that its 70-year history must be cleansed of; otherwise we risk being back where we started!

The floor goes to **Kh. Kurbanov**. The problems facing our art have been specially revealed in the conditions of democracy and restructuring. The processes which have been gradually taking shape in our art for many years have now acquired such an acute form that the concept of the "union of like-minded people" which we have anxiously pronounced from many platforms for a long time has begun to collapse before our very eyes.

V. Myagkov, the chairman of the governing board of the USSR Art Fund, gives a report on the activity of this fund.

B. Dzhalalov (Uzbek SSR) speaks of the fervent debates which have taken place in all the creative unions. They show that a multitude of problems demanding to be resolved have reached a head. And it is good that the opportunity has been found to call things by their right names without resorting to allegories.

In art it is not necessary that something be liked, but it is extremely important that it be understood, notes **Ye. Moiseyenko** (Leningrad). What lives in us, hurts us, worries us, makes us glad, what we hope for, and what saddens us is the essence and meaning of our creativity. Our art, Soviet art, is a biography of the creation, struggle, people's advance, and reconstruction. Art not only reflects life—the moral criteria of existence and the meaning of life—it participates in molding the spiritual world of our contemporary. It molds life, creates an exemplary new world, and poses problems.

V. Sidorenko (Ukrainian SSR) takes the floor. Why has it turned out, he says, that Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, and other cities of a million population rather than some remote villages have become the spiritual provinces? Yes, we are proud of the fact that Kharkov is a great center of machine building and science and the third-largest student city in the country. But we would

very much like to also be proud of the city's high level of culture. There are only two museums and no exhibit halls in a city of 2 million. We have not seen even one all-Union exhibit in Kharkov for a long time.

On the platform is **A. Vasnetsov** (Moscow). There have always been artists who did not compromise with their consciences. But even so we artists should assume part of the responsibility for everything that has happened, answering for pictures and frescoes destroyed and for the creation of false authorities; otherwise all this may be repeated, although in another form. Today the "left" is beating up the "right," tomorrow the "right" will beat up the "left," and then—one another. All this cannot fail to be reflected—and is being reflected—in the main thing—creativity. Although I am certain that truth will remain the high road of art. For me any great art created by mankind is realism and every serious artist aspires or should aspire toward it, in his own way, needless to say. In light of this it must be said that progress toward perfection may take different paths, but the goal remains the same, eternally vital and eternally in motion. I can find no better word than "realism" to define this goal. Of course, the concept "realism" can be changed to the point of unrecognizability so that truth becomes a lie and vice versa. Therefore, as Goethe said, I support the study of nature which does not allow such a type of disease to arise.

Sh. Oradov (Turkmen SSR) dwelled on the poor development of the material base of art in the republic.

The floor is given to **G. Korzhev-Chuvelev** (Moscow). Today we all need truth, and therefore, in speaking of realism we must remember that the real lessons of courage and refusal to compromise are its manifestation in the history of culture of all peoples. Recently the strength and potential of realism has been underestimated and its ability to progress and reflect the most modern ideas and feelings has been forgotten. But the specter of untruth has always hung over realism. If anything suffered during the period of stagnation it was realism. It grew decrepit under the weight of missions which were not in its nature. Something had to be sung of, something had to be reflected, something had to be noted. And there was always something which we did not manage to reflect, we did not sing of in the right way or in the right voice, and something very essential escaped from our hands. Realism had a great many concerns, but it lacked one: to speak the truth—no one demanded that. Of course, our best artists even then remained faithful to the truth of life, but what it cost them! Our realism needs major repair. Bold artists are needed so that realism begins to shine with the truth, discoveries, and revelations, bold and talented artists to inspire new life in the flesh of the old and eternally new realism.

On behalf of Soviet architects the congress welcomes the first secretary of the governing board of the USSR Architects' Union **Yu. Platonov**. The times demand that the creative forces of artists and architects be joined in creating an esthetically full-fledged world—that is the speaker's main idea.

B. Leonavichyus (Lithuanian SSR) takes the floor. Restructuring is moving at a very slow rate in our union. In 2 years we have not even managed to prepare and deliver for ratification a new draft of the charter of the country's Artists' Union. Furthermore, in thinking about the strength and authority of Soviet art, we must not forget that this strength is concealed in the development of national art schools. But time shows that the authority of the national school itself is slipping and its originality is still being underestimated. Unfortunately, we have encountered cases where the republic's Artists' Union is restricted in the right to independently send collections abroad, choose partners for exchanging exhibits, and support bilateral contacts.

The congress welcomed **S. Rogozhkin**, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. He said that the Komsomol and the Artists' Union should cooperate more effectively.

I think, said **I. Glazunov** (Moscow), that cost-accounting exhibits must be introduced, that is a useful and serious cause. I propose setting up an exhibit of purchases of the Artists' Union and the USSR Ministry of Culture; that would be very interesting for artists and for the people.

V. Manin (Moscow) supported **I. Glazunov's** critical evaluation of the governing board's report to the congress. In my opinion, the accountability report must not be considered a success, the speaker said. Not all the problems which disturbed artists in the period of preparations for the congress were raised and identified. For example, we should have been able to study the new charter. But we are not studying the charter. Yet surely the problems which were raised in connection with the discussion of the charter do exist.

The art critic **V. Lenyashin** (Leningrad) spoke of the moral and ethical principles of the labor of artists and art critics, of relations among the union's members, and of the need for a supportive atmosphere in discussion of the painful questions of artistic life. He touched on the great traditions of Russian art and their importance in our day.

I. Nikolayev (Moscow) told of certain problems of monument art.

D. Bisti (Moscow) devoted his speech to a subject which affects everyone without exception—books. Goskomizdat, interested only in the income from book publishing work, has developed a program where the artist is in practice excluded from the process of creating the book when all publishing houses shift to cost-accounting and self-financing. We clearly see Goskomizdat's tendency to deny problems of illustration and the quality of the book's artistic formulation. This threatens to deny the great achievements of many generations of Soviet book illustrators.

The first plenum of the governing board of the USSR Artists' Union elected at the Seventh Congress was held on 22 January. People's Artist of the RSFSR and Laureate of the USSR State Prize painter-sculptor **A.V. Vasnetsov** was elected chairman of the board. The first secretary of the governing board is People's Artist of the USSR and Laureate of the USSR State Prize **T.T. Salakhov**.

The participants in the plenum thanked People's Artist of the USSR **N.A. Ponomarev** for the many years of fruitful work in the post of chairman of the creative union's governing board.

At the first meeting of the central auditing commission **V.M. Dubrovin** was elected its chairman.

New Chairman Vasnetsov Interviewed

18000214b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 88
p 6

[Interview with **Andrey Vladimirovich Vasnetsov**, new chairman of the USSR Artists' Union, by **V. Malukhin**; occasion, date, and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] **Andrey Vladimirovich Vasnetsov** has been elected the new chairman of the USSR Artists' Union. Next month he will be 64 years old. He took part in the war. He has been in the party for almost 40 years. He graduated from the Moscow Institute of Applied and Ornamental Art where he studied under **A. Goncharov** and **A. Deyneki**. He is well known not only as a painter but as the creator of frescoes, mosaics, and tapestries, and as a decorative artist. **A.V. Vasnetsov** is a professor, People's Artist of the RSFSR, and Laureate of the USSR State Prize.

[Answer] By the way, **IZVESTIYA** workers always have my laureate work (in coauthorship with **N.I. Andronov**) in front of them, the artist elaborates. You probably know the "Man and the Press" mosaic hall on the third floor. And here in these cartons are the sketches of the interiors for the new building of the Soviet Embassy in the FRG.

[Question] In past years you had already been elected to the leadership organs of the RSFSR Artists' Union and the USSR Artists' Union. Were the results of the present elections a surprise to you?

[Answer] It was a complete surprise, I was not mentally prepared for it. You see, I was always attracted to artistic activity and I did not notice that I had any particular taste for organizational, administrative, and apparatus work. But then I have never concealed my deep conviction that only artists themselves rather than bureaucrats are in a position to deal with the numerous problems of our calling. The choice possibly fell on me precisely

because I have never been a professional art administrator. I consider my mandate to lead the union above all as an opportunity to do good work and labor in the interests of the artist and in behalf of enriching and normalizing our creative life.

[Question] How could you in this connection evaluate the results of the Seventh Congress of USSR Artists?

[Answer] The present congress was different from the previous one. I am pointing to the lack of indifference and the greater involvement of the delegates. Some change took place.

[Question] Forty-five people spoke at the Artists' Congress and there were 26 others who had registered to speak in the discussions but were not given the opportunity.

[Answer] The time for the congress' work was limited and the delegates' activism was great. Various viewpoints and various positions were represented.

[Question] What in the union's activity up to now has not suited you personally as an artist?

[Answer] The fact that questions of creativity are not considered paramount. Supporting talent and creating conditions for its complete manifestation is the first task of a creative union. I do not think that the various new models and structural innovations have brought us much closer to solving that task. Another of the union's problems is creative youth. We are doing a poor job of recruiting them, and too few of them, into our ranks and they have been stewing in their own juice in the youth association for too long. We are all no longer young or even elderly people and we must not put aside concerns about our successors until later.

[Question] As far as I know, you know from your own experience what organizational conclusions are as an argument in creative debate.

[Answer] Alas, yes, and more than once. But I always regarded attempts to "correct" my artistic style without any personal emotion and I hold no grudge against work supervisors. My personal opinion which I can confirm with dozens of examples is that it is not simple for an artist to live in any times and under any circumstances. That is the fate of the artist. Come what may, we must strive to be a union of creative individuals—in all the diversity of methods of artistic thought characteristic of them.

[Question] Until quite recently the focus of artistic life was official exhibits and salons. Now the limits have been greatly expanded. How do people in the Artists' Union see this situation?

[Answer] I do not divide art into what is in the union and what is outside it. The same in regard to nonart—it does not depend on membership in a union. Talented people sooner or later come to the union and I hope that this does not threaten those who attach themselves to art. I do not believe informal associations of artists are either terrible or wonderful. Their appearance is a normal and natural thing; it is something else again that this should have happened much sooner. It would be wrong to pit the union against informal spontaneity. The person is the main thing in art. For there are always so few talented people—both within the union and outside it. Pirosmanni was a wandering artist and he was a genius. I would like to be shown another such man today.

[Question] A new version of the union's charter was not adopted at the present artists' congress and it must be finished and a new—broad—discussion must be arranged. Do you consider this fact a manifestation of the democratization of artistic life?

[Answer] Our democratization should lie in the sphere of creativity, but we have not yet even begun to do this. As for the charter, in my opinion two concepts were confused during the discussion of it: what the charter proper should be like and what the union's program should be. I think that was the reason the charter was not adopted. I do not believe that the proposed version of the charter was bad—well, perhaps there were insufficiently elaborated provisions there. An artists' association should probably have something like a manifesto, program, or platform, as was customary in the 1920's, for example, rather than a charter.

[Question] My last question anticipates what the readers will most likely ask us.

[Answer] I can guess. I was born into the family of MGU Professor V.V. Vasnetsov. His father was the well-known artist Viktor Mikhaylovich Vasnetsov. That could not fail to have an effect on my life—I do not mean imitating my grandfather's creative style but my attitude toward the moral tasks of art.

12424

Director Calls for Full 'Confessions' to Further Cultural Reforms

18000225 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by Aleksey Simonov, film director, under the rubric "Topic of the Times": "Confession—Not Profession"]

[Text] Restructuring within the field of culture, in my opinion, is spinning its wheels. The changes now taking place are far from being on the scale or at the rate of speed that is desirable or to be expected. Even in our own uncompromisingly revolutionary Union of Cinematographers, the program is slipping and sliding, getting

bogged down in a morass of words, and losing its sense of direction. Who is to blame? We pose the traditional question and, looking around, revile until we are blue in the face vestiges of the recent and remote past. Yet we will not acknowledge the simple fact that the fault lies in ourselves, and that in response to the question of who is to blame, the answer must be direct and unequivocal: We are—I am—to blame.

The film "Repentance" did us a service in bringing into everyday use such almost obsolete words as redemption, sin, and confession. I am an atheist. The thought makes me queasy that over me is a higher power or a supreme court of judgment, and my gratitude to the film is free of any coloration of Christianity.

Experience with the greatness of Russian literature instilled in us an indissoluble sense of the relationship between profession and confession. We swore by this literature, we proclaimed it aloud, but from that moment on this indissolubility was broken. Slowly but surely, this rift became a fissure, a chasm, an abyss. And how much of our art that made its way across the land consisted of cunning exhortation by those who would preach on any subject you might choose except what they themselves were thinking—except that which pained their conscience. So the conscience in pain and neglect atrophied.

For all that, there were in the period of stagnation people whose artistic works loom like rare islands in the sea, preserving the great tradition of spiritual truth with its inseparable bond between the conscience of mankind and art as its rightful form of active existence.

This separation has not been healed, and so long as it is preserved in our souls and remains active in our lives, the restructuring process will continue to remain at a standstill, slipping and sliding in one place. For restructuring means restoration of the bond between the depths of our souls—the pangs of conscience—and the very faculty for speech, writing, cinematography, and action.

I remember one film director ten years ago, the night before shooting a film, was virtually in a state of hysteria, crying that for him to do the film he was preparing to do was impossible; he would be fired, the film would be closed down, and it would tantamount to suicide. Yet the next day he went out to the set and shot the film just as he had planned with no changes. And they closed down the film and fired him. He is one of those were like islands in the sea. And today his reviled and rejected films have been taken off the shelves and they have become the pride of the soviet film industry. Now he is not making films, but keeps his silence. Once again his conscience is tormenting him. For he fears falling into the public furor of vilification or glorification as he continues to listen to the voice of his soul, fearful of violating his own conscience.

Meanwhile, we who have no such courage vie in teaching one another what is true and what is false. Let us take a look at ourselves. How many games of hide-and-seek we have played! How many clever silences! How many tactical maneuvers! And how much dread! But it seems to us that if much is permitted, then this very permission should result in removing that thick layer of fear that has been building up in us. And forgetting the fact that even a single drop of fear can distort one's vision, we rush into verbal warfare with ready-made truths in hand and excoriate one another, the just and the unjust alike.

I think a habit became ingrained in us during the years of stagnation at which we secretly smiled. Remember, if one day they told us that things would be this way or that, the next day they would invariably proclaim that they had already come to pass. And now there is a new reality, the reality of restructuring. We imagine that we ourselves have been ready for it a long time, and that there is no need to restructure ourselves, and looking impatiently about us on all sides with indignation (a consequence of that same habitual response to rapid reorganizations of life upon command), we disclose that others—that is, other people, organizations, attitudes, lives—appear to be at a standstill, and that changes have been insignificant and not in proportion to the efforts expended on others. And some people, upset by this, are ready to crawl back into their shells and slam the door behind them, while others even more heatedly drive on in pursuit of life with a new tirade of words. But, of course, the problem is not in words, and not in the life around us; it is not in others, but in our very selves. It seems to me that the art of today has not yet earned the right to preach to others but has yet to travel the difficult road that leads to confessing the truth. I say difficult because often recently I have encountered attempts at confession in print and have been surprised to discover the author's confession, quite apart from his wishes, turn into an editorial on how to make a confession, with quotations, arguments, and examples, paving the road for others. But as it turns out, it it does not apply to one's self. People have forgotten how to do this, or perhaps they failed to learn. And some will never learn. A new way of thinking arises, it would seem, not only out of a new set of global circumstances but sometimes because of a rebirth of old and, sad to say, forgotten truths. What is more, they come back to us more easily in the imperative mood. It is far easier to intone "Do not lie" or "Do not steal" than it is to say, "I will tell no more lies, and I won't touch stolen property." The second kind of utterance commits us too strongly. And we really do not have a particularly good reason to believe in ourselves. For these reasons we do not care to bind ourselves with burdensome obligations.

As the blank spots in our history are filled in, there are fewer and fewer people, organizations, truths that cannot be touched upon, and yet we continue to extend a hand to scoundrels, and we are not ashamed to sit down at the same table with speculators, attaching no significance to this or, if the worst comes to the worst, justifying ourselves in terms of a general decline in morals.

Let us count up the things we cannot live without. Without freedom? Without a feeling of personal worth and dignity? Without the right of open discussion with one another and with our children? Nothing of the kind. These days there are not many of us who can live without the butcher and the saleswoman we know, without our friend the dentist and our friendly auto mechanic; and those who have managed to obtain privileges, like a subscription to a good magazine or a pass to get in without waiting in line, say, can no longer get along without them. Our creative institutions and institutions of creativity are filled to overflowing with "privies." Moreover, we put them there, and they are a our disposal. In the notorious climate that, sad to say, pervades our society with a spirit of "you scratch my back—I'll scratch yours," they are our sole commodities. And these have become our chains, our manacles. If we were to squeeze the slave out of ourselves, according to the example provided by Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, where he squeezed a drop, we would produce a steady stream. It seems to me that we ourselves our smug, self-satisfied lack of awareness constitute the initial obstacle to restructuring. But not the only one.

I do not know about universal evil, but our own domestic brand invariably has a first name and a last name. We have lost the habit of using these first and last names simply out of an acquired sense of diffidence. My generation, whose childhood took place in war-time and during the early post-war years, and whose youth passed under the banner of the 20th Party Congress, learned a sad lesson in this respect. When our relatives, our friends, and acquaintances first began to emerge from the camps with their certificates of rehabilitation, their faces almost or even totally unrecognizable to us, so long had they been away, each of their evils had a first and last name: the name of an informer, of an inquisitor, or a camp superintendent. Moreover, it must be said, the desire to name this particular evil loudly and publicly was strong and unequivocal. First of all was the desire to name it. So far as I can judge from observing the people near to me, the desire to get revenge was not second, but arose perhaps in fourth or fifth place, and was quick to disappear. How many outbursts of local significance there were as those who returned made the effort to name the evil. And name names they did. But the general tendency was not to do so. The greatest evil was named Stalin, and people were advised not to rummage around looking for lesser ones since it was more comfortable and peaceful to count as victims both those who were behind bars and those who put them there. So for the first time in the memory of my generation the drumstick united with the drumhead (to use a phrase of Boris Slutskiy), and to the beat of the drum the problem was buried once and for all, or so in any case it seemed. And the hangman and his victims were seemingly averaged out in an all-state ritual act of general purgation of the filth. I became aware of this lesson in immorality only much later. But at the time there seemed to be only isolated instances of injustice. I understand now that at an all-state confession there was not enough genuine

strength of spirit either among those closest to the source, for they were trained to preach sermons instead, or among those who might accept or not accept but did not dispute the inconsistency. That is our common fault.

The stagnation resulted precisely from the fact that this attempt at purgation was not carried out to the end—from doing injury to our sense of justice. Does it not appear to you that today we risk making the very same mistake?

At the start of this article I called my own trade union, the Union of Cinematographers, the most revolutionary because it moved ahead of others at its Fifth Congress when it not only identified the external and internal causes for the slowing-down process that led to stagnation, but also named them, giving their first and last names. Some of these people took the opportunity to leave, others have remained, but deprived of their saving anonymity today they have been forced to switch from pontification to dialogue—from edification to discussion. But wherever this has not been done, they go on, as before, inciting one another with revolutionary articles in newspapers and journals to name particular evils while refraining from doing so themselves.

We have grown so accustomed to read between the lines that our attention today is often distracted from what is written in the lines themselves. The fine art of Aesopian language during the years of stagnation became for both writers and their readers a kind of secret sign of the community of thinking people. The art so developed in us that even to this day we prefer, instead of saying, "Ivanov is a scoundrel," to write down an entire passage in which we designate his place of work, the external characteristics, and even the size of his shoes, but do not call him by name. What is this, the artifice of authorship or shyness of public exposure in the press? Most often, it is a bit of each. But these phenomena, whether taken together or examined individually, lead once again objectively to a leveling-out in the social consciousness of heroes and villains.

Therefore, I repeat, the lessons of our own life histories teach us that the greatest danger lies in the anonymity of evil, and not least because the anonymous seems to be larger, more threatening, and unconquerable than it is in actuality, but ultimately may become what it seems.

Yes, we are all victims of stagnation. But while some were cutting coupons at the time, others beat their heads against a wall, and these tiny faults, cracks invisible to the naked eye, ultimately contributed to the effort that made a breach in the wall. We need not equate these efforts, nor, for that matter, make new heroes out of them. My father once said: "Each person must make a hole in the wall equal in depth to what his forehead is capable of making." Let us be honest and reconcile ourselves to the fact that this is not a heroic exploit but rather the normal human condition, regardless of what exertions cost or dangers threatened. Even more sadly I

see published materials in which those who have relinquished the helm of power, voluntarily or otherwise, are bravely denounced. It often happens that the authors of these articles are the very same ones who have gone out of power. But in every instance they write about others and not a word about themselves. In the absence of confessional material the articles and speeches of such authors do not inspire trust even when every word in them is true. Evidently, it is impossible to speak truthfully of the time or of others if one does not know, or chooses to hide, the truth about one's self.

Let us recall a historical incident. The name the Stalin Prize has been changed and is now called the State Prize. Very well. But at this time together with genuine scholars and artists there are prize winners living whose awards remain Stalin Prizes. Moreover, among the works by recipients of the Lenin Prize are some whose artistic merit is in complete accord with what was produced at the time. Without taking anything from them, I dream in vain of reading a letter to the editor, saying, in effect, I am the winner of such and such a prize, awarded for an opportunistic work, and so on and so on. How it would clear the air! How proudly the heart would beat in the presence of a genuinely human, moral act!

In that not so distant time, whose heirs we are, so much happened for which we ourselves are to blame that we cannot—we do not have the right—to begin a new life with a clean slate. A teacher given a new history book cannot simply come to class and say that the old history has been replaced and we will now have a new, honest, and truthful history to study. The students would not believe him. He would be obliged, before his own conscience, to say why previously he personally had taught them what was not true. Only then would the new, truthful version of history become a lesson for them in individual and institutional morality.

Restructuring in the area of culture is spinning its wheels within us, owing to our inertia, our torpor, our inveterate disbelief, and our sense of dread.

What I write is not a confession; it is no more than an approach to confession. But the way to the temple lies in the direction of experiencing a need for confession. Let us seek not only in the life around us but in ourselves for the impulse to that forward movement towards changes for the better.

And let us progress towards unity of conscience and action, calling evils by their true names, and tirelessly remembering our own imperfections and failure to free ourselves through repentance and confession from the dry crust of inner slavery.

Such a movement will be slow. But it will be impossible to turn back.

12889

Lenin Portrayal in Shatrov Play Assailed

18000215 Moscow KOSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 88 p 4

[Article by L. Kunetskaya, senior scientific associate of the Study and Quarters of Lenin in the Kremlin Museum, honored cultural worker of the RFSFR, and Lenin Komsomol prize winner, under the rubric "Point of View": "A Right to Interpretation? Polemical Notes on the Plays of M. Shatrov"]

[Text] In this tumultuous time of ours, a time, I would say, of critical tension as we go through restructuring in the country, it is completely understandable and explicable why we turn our attention more frequently these days for counsel and help to the past—that is, to Ilich. In doing so, we turn not to a sleek and glossy Ilich, but to a person with an elaborate and complex destiny, whose entire existence consisted of struggle—a struggle difficult to endure and at times dramatic during which not only outspoken opponents, not only sworn enemies, but even his very closest associates and comrades-in-arms did not always accept unreservedly his thoughts and convictions. But this is precisely the Lenin that is important to us today.

In this connection I want to share certain thoughts I have on the interpretation given to the image of Lenin in the plays of M. Shatrov. This undoubtedly talented playwright has done a great deal to achieve a deeper comprehension of Ilich. But I have become increasingly disturbed recently by reviews of his new plays that promise too much, as if to say, "Hurry, hurry, here is the unknown Lenin, and new people about whom no one has spoken until now." And, sure enough, the public hurries—to a performance, a spectacle. They look, listen, and are amazed, as if to say, "So that is how Lenin really behaved! See, that's what he said!" It never even occurs to the public that much that happened was not the same and took place under altogether different circumstances.

I have no hesitation in saying that we are now at a new turn in the road, and it is precisely for this reason that we want to know everything about Lenin. We want hear not only his advocates but his adversaries. This is our universal right. And yet without fear of criticism for dogmatism (and people critical of anything in the work of Shatrov are often automatically numbered among the defenders of reaction and dogmatism) I ask permission carefully and delicately to touch upon the events of 1923. In a spirit of silent mourning we must bow our heads in the presence of this most frightful time in the life of Vladimir Ilich! I ask the reader's permission because I know only too well what 1923 held in store for him.

Are there really words to convey the tragedy of genius locked in the sufferings of a hopeless illness? The great mind struggled with the constraints of speechlessness (Lenin was capable of uttering only a few short words) while in the throes of trying to communicate with looks

(paralysis of the right hand prevented him from writing)...whereas we are shown Lenin arriving in Moscow in search of his "last will and testament," enduring the humiliation of idiotic admonitions by a young secretary who keeps saying, "Vladimir Ilich, you can't do this—you can't do that." Even a person of sound body would take to his bed. Incidentally, the secretaries sat by the door of his study and entered only with his permission.

What is the point of inventions in place of authentic facts? How Lenin traveled from Gorki to Moscow in 1923 is mentioned in only a few lines written by Krupskaya. But in them is pain and truth. Let me emphasize, the truth! Lenin was saying farewell to Moscow and the Kremlin! Shatrov, I should like to believe, knows where the "Letter to the Congress" was to be found. Moreover, Nadezhda Konstantinovna had referred to it, precisely "in the event of the death of Lenin," as was written on the envelope; she was obliged to turn the letter over to the presidium of the party congress, which is just what she did with a courage that was characteristic of her. Why would Lenin be searching for this letter?

It is amazing also that the playwright would assign to Krupskaya the role of such a generally dull statistician, citing two or three phrases from an unintelligible domestic notation. Is this ignorance? Or is it rather a deliberate downgrading of the role of Nadezhda Konstantinovna in the life of Lenin and in the history of our party and state? Her books, articles, speeches, and letters, of course, are irreplaceable for coming to understand Lenin as a person.

Imagine, an attempt is made to convince us that Vladimir Ilich and his spouse had nothing to talk about!

And then there is "The Peace of Brest." If one analyzes the lines page by page, it is possible to discern that the words of Lenin have been placed on the lips of Bukharin! Lo and behold, the 29-year-old Bukharin, as the author "touchingly" emphasizes, is lecturing Lenin while opposing him with all his power until the very end. And such an uncultivated and envious person as Stalin is purportedly following Lenin "only because it is Lenin."

In the biography of Lenin well-known historical events are treated extremely freely from the personal viewpoint of the author. It is known with accuracy within an hour how Vladimir Ilich spent New Year's Eve, 31 December 1917. In the "Biographical Chronicle of V. I. Lenin" (vol. 5, p. 164) it is indicated that together with Krupskaya he was with the workers of Vyborgskiy Rayon. But the author has him taking a stroll with Bukharin. What sort of innovative interpretation is this?

This is what we see on stage: Lenin on his knees before Trotsky! How little the playwright knows and understands Vladimir Ilich! Yes, indeed, the Brest peace was a tragedy for the people, the country, the party, and for Lenin. It was only the awareness of this that drove Ilich

to resort to an extreme form of argument that he considered unworthy of his conscience. Never—not before and not after this—did he pose such a problem as this: The Brest peace treaty would be signed or he would resign as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and from the party's Central Committee. There was nothing in the life of Lenin more terrifying than this ultimatum to his own Central Committee. But to fall on his knees before anyone and cry? Impossible! I will take the liberty of quoting Krupskaya: "It was hard for Ilich.... We were walking together along the Neva and he kept repeating, over and over, all the reasons why the 'neither peace nor war' policy was unsound. On our way home, Ilich suddenly came to a standstill, and his tired face lit up unexpectedly as the words came to his mind: 'And suddenly'—that is, suddenly revolution would come to Germany. When we reached Smolnyy, a telegram had arrived: The Germans were attacking. Ilich was doubly troubled...."

Here is another quotation from Krupskaya: "It was characteristic of Ilich that he never deluded himself, no matter how sad the situation, and he never became intoxicated with successes, but could always look at reality with a sober gaze. And it was not always easy for him to do so. Ilich was the farthest removed from being a person of cold judgment like some sort of calculating chess player. He reacted to things with exceptional feeling, but he was a person of strong will, who had lived through and thought through a great deal, so that he knew how to look truth in the eyes."

Can you imagine such a person as Lenin on his knees before Trotsky, whose stand he called lordly and gentrified, saying that this was the slogan of an underhanded scheme to surrender the country, where the proletariat had risen to power, and where the great process of construction was under way, to wholesale pillaging?

A few more words about the play "On, On, and On!" which has only just been published, and which is soon to be presented in theaters both in Moscow and Leningrad. In acquainting myself with it I have once again been struck by how strangely Shatrov tinkers with historical facts. Without alluding to the subject matter I want to talk about something that I myself witnessed, and about the alleged attempt by Stalin to destroy Lenin's study, his books, and marginal notes. I am referring to the memoirs of Lt Gen A. Ya. Vedenin, the former commandant of the Moscow Kremlin. I knew Andrey Yakovlevich well. He was the person responsible for opening the Study and Quarters of V. I. Lenin in the Kremlin as a museum. In his memoirs, however, he unfortunately wrote that he found the library of Lenin actually "under a stairway."

I can bear witness to the fact that indeed it was left to me and a few working associates to "save" Krupskaya's library—not, however, from Stalin, who at this point was no longer living. After Lenin's death, his study was closed up, and the keys to it were in the possession of N. K. Krupskaya and M. I. Ulyanova. The books with

marginal notes by Lenin were given by Krupskaya herself to the central party archives. It is noteworthy that they were replaced in the study by copies with the notes of Lenin faithfully transcribed. Why? One might suppose that the thought had occurred to the government to eventually open a museum.

In 1941 German troops were approaching Moscow. Lenin's study and quarters were readied for evacuation along with the most valuable things in the Kremlin. All the rooms were photographed (this series of photographs is preserved in the museum even now), then they were packed up and the contents kept in a safe place. The study and quarters are situated on the third floor, which is the top floor, of the government building, and should a bomb have exploded there, everything would have been irretrievably lost.

After the war ended in victory, Lenin's study was completely restored, and by the end of 1954 the restoration of the entire apartment was complete. Our descendants should be grateful to the commandant of the Moscow Kremlin for preserving the belongings of Lenin in their entirety, including trifles. It was more difficult in the case of the library. Of course, it contained about 40,000 books and journals. A special commission was chosen to select what were basically books of Lenin and the most interesting books. At one time A. Ya. Vedenin sent us a note to "make a selection of the most essential and interesting books and discard the rest." It took more than a little effort on our part to convince him to preserve them all. But this was so, I want to emphasize, only in the case of Krupskaya's library. No one at any time made an attempt to get rid of Lenin's books. It is a pity that Vedenin somewhat misrepresented the facts, and even more of a pity that Shatrov did not care to recheck their accuracy.

It is a time for changes, a time for frank opinions and discussion. But does it not seem to you at any time, but particularly today, an act of ingratitude to distort history in such a way as to demean the heroic spirit of the revolution? It is not permissible to ascribe to Lenin traits that were not characteristic of him, to slap him on the shoulder, and call him "the same as everyone else." Neither in qualities nor in his destiny was Lenin "the same as everyone else." Our task is to try to reach him, if only in some respects.

I am not calling for any varnishing of the truth or any idealization, nor am I attempting to impose a taboo upon any new interpretation of the subject of Lenin. But interpretation must be genuinely new. And it must be genuinely honest, especially where young people are concerned.

Premiere Showing of Drutse Plays Cancelled in Moldavia

18000245 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of 13 January 1988 carries on page 2 an article entitled "About An Empty Auditorium And Non-Empty Rumors." It describes an invitation extended to well-known Moldavian playwright Ion Drutse for 24 and 25 December to attend the premiere showing of two of his plays in Kishinev in celebration of a decade of Moldavian drama. The news of the invitation apparently caused "great excitement" since Drutse for the past 20 years has been officially considered a persona non grata, visiting Moldavia "seldom and in secret." Even his recent successes as a playwright went "unnoticed" in Kishinev. However, for "unannounced" reasons, the performances were unexpectedly postponed, "causing all sorts of rumors" to be circulated. When questioned by the writer about this, Moldavian Culture Minister G.I. Kushner claimed that the events were postponed due to conflicting activities. The correspondent points out, however, that no conflicting activities took place and the auditorium was, in fact, empty on those days. He speculates that other, "non-technical" reasons were behind the cancellation. Shortly before this event, the journal MOLDAVIAN AGRICULTURE ran an article by its editor in which he termed Drutse a "screamer", "extremist", and "demagogue" who was "speculating on the problems" of ecology in recent articles he wrote for the central press, exposing the ecological difficulties currently facing Moldavia.

Klimov on Glasnost, Censorship, Reform Effects on Film Union

18000217 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 2,
9-16 Jan 88 pp 16-22

[Interview with Elem Klimov, Mosfilm director, by OGONEK correspondent Feliks Medvedev; occasion, date, and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Answer] Everything must now be structured in accordance with completely different, reasonable, and just laws. It is impossible to progress further with our feet and hands bound and with gags in our mouths, which we still can feel so well.

Glasnost. Glasnost—semiglasnost—quarterglasnost. We speak, write, and film and all the time we look over our shoulders and whisper to someone inside ourselves. That is what life has taught us and I am afraid that it will still be that way for a long time. But you want and you demand the quickest possible appearance of new cinema. The past decades did not pass in vain for those people who instilled fear, long-time fear in our genes, raised us, and split us into different beings living in a single body. If only I could put my own soul in order a little more quickly, then I could desire the same for others. To achieve real glasnost and real democracy we must still force our way through the tall weeds of the

past, gradually unlearning the custom of slavish obedience and voiceless existence. We will have to learn dialog, and not only to speak it but to listen as well. Oh, how difficult it is—to listen and to hear. I know from my own experience. And from others. Glasnost and democracy still have to be created. We have to do it. We all have to do it. So we should not be too hasty to play fanfares about this. One of the participants of the recent plenum of the Cinematographers' Union said uneasily: "Does the mechanism already exist, have those democratic mechanisms which would guarantee that we will not return to what was previously already been created? The first and foremost task of the creative intelligentsia is to facilitate, including through all their work, the creation of these democratic mechanisms and these guarantees." That is the direction which the vector of all our efforts should be focused upon and our civic and creative energy devoted to.

Well, the Fifth Congress of the Cinematographers' Union was a special congress, you know, a sharp, principled, and energetic one (even parliamentary forms were not always observed). Why? You have asked, and I have told you the story of my films, and now multiply that by the great multitude of similar stories and by the breakdown in film production, the low level of equipment, the unfair labor payment, the lack of authors' rights, the long-since reduced evaluation criteria, the loss of contact with the audience, the ever-increasing stream of trashy films and mediocrity. Restructuring in films also began, strictly speaking, with this congress. It is proceeding with difficulty, and with distressing difficulty, but it is proceeding. The congress consolidated our forces but it also split us in part. Think about it, some were criticized, some were not elected as they wanted, there were hurt feelings, people withdrew into themselves and began to get angry. It even affected our "immune ones," the "generals of film" who formerly were not criticized in the press. A certain polarization of some groups and strata in our film community was manifested in this way. Or rather, all this already existed, but it was, as they say, under the surface. But others who clearly lack talent have realized that reform in films will complicate their lives, because now only talent will give you the right to go on stage, to work. Some people out of habit, age, and irreversible internal processes can perhaps no longer meet the new demands of life and they must be helped to arrange their affairs differently; but we must not brush them aside. This is a dramatic moment. Today another congregation of film people, with "strong claws," connections, and a strong voice has also taken shape. These people will not give up what they have without a battle; they have already joined the battle. At "Mosfilm," for example, they demand that the studio be divided in two, on the example of MKhAT (a very expensive pleasure) and call for returning to former times, or even better to very early times. These people try to retain and preserve what is most important to them—privileges, their place in the sun, and a piece of life's blessings. The process of restructuring reveals and illuminates a great deal—who stands behind what and who

stands up for what. I am glad that the most worthy people in cinematography categorically support restructuring. And it is remarkable that among them are many young people.

[Question] Elem Germanovich, let us recall once more those films which lay on the shelf until the formation of that conflict commission, which was set up after the Fifth Congress of the Cinematographers' Union and which "rehabilitated" many talented pictures.

[Answer] The two films of Muratova—"Brief Meetings" and "Long Wires," "Road Test" by German, "Angel" and "The Homeland of Electricity" by Andrey Smirnov and Larisa Shepitko based on Olesha and Platonov, "Ivanov's Launch" by Osepyan, "Intervention" by Polok, and many others.

[Question] You forgot "The Commissar."

[Answer] Yes, this film is questionable to some people in terms of its artistic merits. Nonetheless, why should it have lain in oblivion for more than 20 years?

[Question] Are there other forgotten and unpublished works?

[Answer] You know, the commission has already gone through the main mass of films but the work is not yet finished.

[Question] Will the commission be disbanded or will it continue to exist?

[Answer] It will continue to exist permanently, perhaps changing its functions, but disputes, debates, and conflicts, I think, will not leave us. It is, after all, creative work.

[Question] Does censorship exist in cinematography today or not?

[Answer] In reality, censorship in film did and does exist. Censorship which makes certain that no state or military secrets are shown or revealed, that our cinema does not show pornography or scenes of deliberate cruelty for its own sake, which may damage the psychology of the young spectator, and that films do not create a hostile attitude toward a particular people or nation. We have had practically no conflicts with official censorship. But a different kind of censorship has also been created and assumed the right to speak on behalf of the people and to judge whether the people would understand or not and what would be harmful for them. That is the editorial activity of Goskino; about that we say that it has assumed the right to censor, or more accurately, to castrate screen plays and finished films and has even interfered in acting auditions. I ran into this back when I was working on my first picture "Welcome," when I was told that the actor Ye. Yevstigneyev should not play the chief of the pioneer camp but rather some other actor

should. Because, they said, if something happened this image could be downplayed as a "fool" rather than having social significance. But who other than the director can decide such questions?

[Question] And how are these questions decided now?

[Answer] It has already become easier and simpler to work. Such relapses into the past are already hardly possible. But we should not lose vigilance. One of the important achievements of recent months is the fact that we Union cinematographers have begun to find a common language with Goskino and to work in comradely, business-like interaction. This makes everyone stronger and more confident. It inspires hope.

[Question] Can you name those people who have stood in the path of everything talented, vital, and progressive? Let them be shamed.

[Answer] Why destroy people? It is probably not so easy for the most conscientious of them. And some simply did not understand anything about what is happening in our society today. They have merely become embittered. I can say this because sometimes I have to meet with them and see their eyes. Hatred is in their eyes. But I would not want to drive the aspen stake into their chests, name names, and brand them. That is their favorite genre and let us leave it to them.

[Question] And who are the people who held strong, toughed it out, and did not break?

[Answer] There are many. Larisa Shepitko held out. Aleksey German. Ioseliani. Tarkovskiy held out. At the price of his life, unfortunately. Eldar Shengelaya was not unfaithful to himself in any way. Kira Muratova, Aleksandr Sokurov. Isn't it true, there are many? Shukshin, although he did not manage to do his main work—about Stepan Razin. Every director should have some main film and central work in his creative life. For Shukshin, as he himself thought, bringing the novel "Ya prishel dat vam volyu" [I Have Come to Give You Freedom] to the screen was and should have been such a work. Indeed, at first he wrote simply a screen play and the screen play was rejected; then he wrote the novel in order to return to the film again through it. Returning to the film through the novel cost him enormous effort, and in the end his strength ran out. The work stopped. And then he no longer had his health or life itself. And you know, he wanted to play Razin. This film was to have been completely his...

[Answer] And where did you not succeed, what was not carried out?

[Question] I wanted to film "Levsha" and I did not. I did not manage to do the film about Ivan the Fool. I dreamed of bringing Dostoyevskiy's "Demons" to the screen, but at the time one could not even talk about it seriously. At one time Yuriy Karyakin, who had a

brilliant knowledge of the material and was a man who really understood Dostoyevskiy deeply, and I put in a great deal of work on "Demons." We wanted to translate the great writer's most disputed, most prophetic novel onto the screen, but alas... Viktor Merezko and I prepared the screen version of Vasilii Shukshin's unfinished story "A poutru oni prosnulis" [And In the Morning They Woke Up]. The screen play was rigorous, called "The Drunkards." The action was to have taken place in a sobering-up station which seemed to be boundless, a kind of "all-Union" sobering-up station. One of our managers read it and said to us: "Well, fellows, this is scary. After such a film our people would stop drinking altogether, ha-ha. What do you say to that?" We were not allowed to produce the screen play which my brother German and I had written in 1982—"The Transformation." The idea is complicated and unusual and the action takes place in the 18th century, which we know little about from literature and the cinema. We were allowed to film only the first part, but not the second. But it was mainly for the second part that we wrote the screen play.

[Question] And would you like to make a film about contemporary life?

[Answer] I would. But so far I have not seen a suitable screen play, one that is not superficially topical but is genuinely problematic and humane. Perhaps it is already being written by someone, this screen play. These plays have not yet been written for the theater either, by the way. And literature is still not spoiling us.

Our leaders today are the documentary film makers. They have gotten a lot of work. There is so much that is painful in society, so many untangled knots, events are developing so swiftly—you just go out and film them. And they are filmed; they are often filmed with a sacrifice of artistic quality and do not manage to really "draw out" the pictures, for which they receive critical slaps in the face from our lovers of perfection. And it is these pictures, which are on the leading edge of restructuring, which are the most difficult of all now. They are dangerous to some people. Of course they are dangerous. They affect people. Yes, they do. But they are filmed in order to have an effect on things and change things for the better. A new form of, no, not prohibition, but semiprohibition has appeared. Not a "shelf" but, as we sadly joke, a "bookcase." The film—I mean the sharp problem-oriented works of documentary film makers—is accepted but hardly shown to the audience. Or it is only conditionally released, and in a ridiculously small number of copies. And you say—disband the conflict commission.

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Major Cultural Figures Want Commission on Platonov

18000202b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by M. Platonova, Ch. Aytmatov, G. Baklanov, V. Bykov, S. Zalygin, D. Likhachev, and V. Rasputin: "The Return of Platonov and the Fate of his Legacy"]

[Text] In recent times, to the joy of many, many readers, more and more publications of the works of a remarkable writer, Andrey Platonovich Platonov, have been appearing. The novellas "Yuvnilnoye more" [The Juvenile Sea] and "Kotlovan" [The Foundation Pit] and the essay "Vprok" [In Reserve] have been published and the novel "Chevengur" and the plays "Sharmanka" [The Street Organ] and "14 krasnykh izbushek" [14 Little Red Cottages] are being prepared for press. The lost work which Platonov considered the main one of all—the chronicle novel "Puteshestviye iz Leningrada v Moskvu" [A Journey from Leningrad to Moscow]—must be found. But even now Platonov's secret books are coming out in larger editions than the writer ever dared to even dream of when he was alive.

However, the return of Platonov has posed major problems of sophistication in its publication, sophistication in study of the creative legacy, and its scientific interpretation. This is even more important since we are talking about an unusually complex and ambiguous author. So then, are we ready to meet the "new" Platonov?

Let us begin with the fact that up to now there is no commission on Platonov's creative legacy. After the writer's death, one was set up and existed on a formal basis. However, essentially it did not deal with Platonov's archives and the writer's widow, Mariya Aleksandrovna Platonova, exclusively was involved in all publications. In the course of years the commission ceased to exist at all since most of its members passed away. M.A. Platonova also died. The writer's daughter repeatedly attempted to revive the commission on Platonov's creative legacy. But she did not receive answers to her appeals either from the Moscow Writer's Organization or from the governing board of the USSR Writers' Union. Meanwhile, as far as one can judge, a certain commission was all the same set up in secret—avoiding open discussion of candidates for membership, modestly avoiding the obligatory publication of the membership in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and not considering it necessary to inform Platonov's direct descendants of the commission's existence. The question of the commission on the creative legacy must be resolved not only officially but also in keeping with the spirit of the times which demands responsibility and glasnost.

But unsettling misunderstandings still occur. Sometimes people who are incompetent or simply unscrupulous try to derive the maximum advantage for themselves from the Platonov publication boom. As a result books which are fundamental in terms of the writer's worldview come

out in different publishing houses with annoying alternative versions. No one turns to the archives kept by his descendants, not even to heat the competition. After all, different variants of the same works exist. In addition, some books managed to be published in the initial form and others were distorted. Alternative versions will be inevitable and important given the existing "spontaneous" textual criticism. Precisely because Platonov is complex and ambiguous, he must reach the reader just as he was, without distortions.

In short, a commission on Platonov's legacy is needed, and not just a formal one but an energetic, active, and authoritative one.

And another question—on perpetuating the memory of Platonov—has been in discussion for nearly 10 years. On 15 May 1979, the writer's 80th birthday, the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union made a decision to establish a memorial plaque in Moscow on building No 25 along Tverskoy Boulevard where Platonov worked for more than two decades. The USSR Literary Fund was allowed to spend 1,000 rubles to make it. There is also a sculptor who is doing a lot of work on a figure of Platonov. That is F.F. Auchkov, who knew the writer personally. The bas-relief is even ready, only there is no Writers' Union letter to the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom. Yet next year we will mark the 90th anniversary of the writer's birth.

M. Platonova, Ch. Aytmatov, G. Baklanov, V. Bykov, S. Zalygin, D. Likhachev, and V. Rasputin

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Yevtushenko Reviews Film Released After 20-Year Ban

18000237a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 Feb 88 p 5

[Review of film "The Commissar," directed by A. Askoldov, by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko under the rubric "The Artist and the Time": "An Age of Losses Returned"]

[Text] What was hidden for many years is being returned to us. What was considered lost is being returned to us. In some cases the novel or film returned unfortunately does not ring out with such force as it would have in its own time. But sometimes it happens that the so-called "mass reader" is not yet ready for a work created a half a century earlier—as in the case of the brilliant "Kotlovan" by Andrey Platonov. The cultural leaders of Vitebsk are still completely unable to recognize the internationally recognized Chagall. The triumph of returning is seasoned with a sharp, slightly bitter taste of unjustified delay—especially in film since this genre, the one most linked to technology, ages disastrously. They also wanted to ban "Chapayev" at one time. If this great film had lain on the archives shelf for half a century and had only now come to light, who knows, specialists would probably have been shaken, but Leningrad workers today would hardly march to the film in columns

carrying the red banner and nowhere abroad would people be likely to watch this film with the same enthusiasm as, Erenburg attested, the Republican soldiers in Spain did.

But still German's film "Road Test," which lay on the shelf for about 20 years, passed the test on the difficult roads of the film art, although earlier it would have caused social upheaval. About 20 years ago in a closed showing I saw a film by Andrey Konchalovskiy which struck me; it was then called, I believe, "Asya the Lame" and now I have seen it again—but in a regular audience. The film did survive, but I thought bitterly that if had been shown at the proper time, the director's fate might have taken an altogether different artistic path—closer to that of Shukshin. In this film, in addition to the unique performance of the young I. Savvina, the brilliant directorial work with nonprofessional actors—on a level no lower than the best of the films of Italian neorealism—is striking. After 20 years I perceived with melancholy curiosity that some of Konchalovskiy's film's bits and devices were later recalled, in "The Parade of Planets"—for example, the unexpected appearance out of the fog of tanks leading maneuvers, in "Kinfolk"—the soldiers shivering in the body of the truck on its way either to war games or to war, in my "The Kindergarten"—the panorama of the peasant circle song. This was not intentional plagiarism; it happened unconsciously, from an instinctive fear of losing existing but hidden artistic treasures.

The same thing happened in painting. It was at this time that so many masterpieces of our native and foreign art were hidden away and not only efficient imitators appeared, but also in-their-own-way honest nostalgic reminders of other possibilities of the brush which were different from Stalin with Voroshilov at the Kremlin Wall or the lovingly traced hairs of Laktionov's fur coat in his self-portrait. When Gumilev was not printed, Tikhonov and Simonov preserved his intonations in their verse.

Another return has now taken place—I am speaking of the release of the film "The Commissar" by Askoldov. More than 20 years ago the young director's first film based on motifs of a V. Grossman short story was banned. Meeting the always impeccably elegant director A. Askoldov (who was giving concerts of sometimes "Bonnie M" and other times "Orero") many times in the foyer of the Rossiya film and concert hall, almost no one could guess why a strange nonbusiness-related sorrow was lurking in the eyes of this outwardly successful manager. Having taken up an altogether different life—the stage-business life, Askoldov was compelled to hide his enormous artistic talent along with the copy stolen from the studio.

We are grateful to directors for stealing copies, otherwise we would not have seen many films. When Eldar Ryzanov was prohibited from staging the film "Cyrano de Bergerac" with me in the title role and the film was

banned, he was ashamed to steal my screen tests in make-up and they were triumphantly erased. Despite a certain outdated element, the film "The Commissar" stunned me. With the exception, perhaps, of Panfilov's early film "There Is No Way Through Fire," there is nothing even remotely like it in our cinematography.

In terms of the unique purity of revolutionary romance this film looks as if it were made, like "Chapayev, back before 1937. In literature it is perhaps close to Andrey Platonov and in painting—to Petrov-Vodkin. Some devices of the early Dovzhenko are deeply organic and absorbed, as they say, through the skin. The woman commissar in the phenomenal performance of Nonna Mordukova (this role which was concealed from viewers was, in my opinion, undoubtedly her best role!) becomes pregnant and, filled with shame that she has let down her revolutionary comrades, confesses to the chief of the detachment (the young Shukshin plays him marvelously!). She is billeted in the home of a Jewish tinsmith with many children (R. Bykov plays his role brilliantly and the unique R. Nedashkovskaya is in the role of his wife). The woman commissar is by no means anti-Semitic, but residual prejudices are hidden somewhere in the depths of her soul. There is slow cautious development of a closer relationship through suffering, through the birth, and through the threat of a pogrom. It is terrifying when the kids play at pogroms. It is terrifying when the houses are boarded up with planks as the Red Army leaves the provincial Jewish town. But the woman commissar who after the birth has become again merely a woman takes her Mauser, leaves her child in the care of the Jewish family, and goes with the military cadets to defend the brotherhood of all peoples.

The birth process is filmed with rough realism and at the same time metaphorically—the wheels of Red Army cannons which are sticking in the sands of estuaries and the muzzles of exhausted neighing horses craning to the dull, white, sultry sky symbolize the difficult bloody birth of a new, as yet uncomprehended, world. The flight of the Red Army horses who have lost their riders is filmed on the level of world cinematographic classics. There is a multitude of the most subtle details, for example, when the woman commissar breaks sugar lumps in her palm with a knife; this gives us a magical feeling of being inside the action. The broadening of the time frame and inclusion of the procession of Jews driven to the fascist concentration camp by Petlyura's men is questionable but penetrating.

Despite the generally tragic quality of the film, it is uplifting because scattered across the screen we see so much love of people, so much humor, and so many charming details of life. I hope that in an atmosphere of cheap mockery on the theme of Vasilii Ivanovich and Petka this film will have a nondidactically valuable purifying influence on our young generation and will once again remind us that the future happiness of all peoples in general is impossible without internationalism. Even Shulgin, an open monarchist and chauvinist,

at the end of his life acknowledged that after the terrible lessons which Hitler gave to mankind it is ruinous to seek the idea of salvation in nationalism.

Among the films shortcomings are obviously that is filled with metaphors which sometimes becomes too much, and the montage, which is very persistently reminiscent of Dovzhenkov's montage. This often happens with a first film when in trying to affirm himself the director wants to prove his talent in each frame and leaves the audience too little room to co-create the experience themselves.

A great deal more will be written about this film, but I am now thinking of the director Askolkov, its creator. In those 20 years which were taken from him he could have made so many films! We must give him this chance since our cinematography is guilty before this man.

Within some steadily diminishing period of time, we will finish presenting readers and viewers with lost work returned by glasnost. But the number of losses being returned is not endless and we will be unable to fill either our screens or our journals with them alone. Even now we must think about the future of our art. We must achieve a guarantee that films staged tomorrow and books written tomorrow will not again be hidden for about 20 years. The price of the losses returned is too high.

12424

Working Group on Soviet-American Film Cooperation Meets

18000237b Moscow *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* in Russian 6 Feb 88 p 3

[Report by G. Simanovich under the rubric "Contacts and Perspectives": "ASK Is a Good Cause"]

[Text] Last week the second meeting within the framework of ASK—the "American-Soviet Film Initiative"—was held in Moscow.

First I would like to speak of specific, officially registered results. Three main documents were signed. They propose that as an act of good will the governments of the USSR and the United States each send two film programs reflecting the spirit and culture of our countries. They contain proposals for Soviet and American cinematography to participate in an exhibit—"The USSR and the United States: Culture and Progress." They state the need to more actively include masters of nonentertainment film in cooperation.

Of course, this does not exhaust the results of the meetings in Moscow. The parties discussed a mass of specific practical questions. The guests tried to better understand the specifics of our film market and film production and find films which in their opinion could

interest the, to speak frankly, capricious American audience which prefers films by their own studios. The joint "brainstorm" showed, for example, that ASK has ways to overcome the difficulties of financing the rental and advertising of Soviet pictures in America: in principle it is possible to get by without foreign exchange expenditures.

The multitude of personal business and friendship contacts established among members of the delegations must also be recorded as a benefit of the meeting. By the way, in the lobby the journalists talked about American cinematography supposedly not been represented at the meeting by the best-known names. This was supposedly because we were not well-informed and had incomplete information preparation for the meeting. The guests included quite well-known representatives of American film art—the actor Keith Carradine, the directors Gilbert Cates and Laurence Schiller, the producer David Putnam, major show business specialist Jeffrey Berg (he has worked with Bertolucci, Polansky, and Schlesinger), and one of the country's leading film critics Charles Champlin (the newspaper *LOS ANGELES TIMES*)—he, by the way, intends to write a series of articles about ASK and contemporary Soviet film.

The impact of ASK's activity will depend on many factors. Among them is the level of organization of the meetings. To my question of how everything went in Moscow, the president of ASK from the American side Mark Gerzon expressed satisfaction with the results of negotiations after mentioning the hospitality of the hosts.

But in my own observation, the members of the Soviet delegation, the honored guests, and the critics at times were not actively involved within the orbit of the meeting and in the activity of the working groups. Elementary things were omitted in haste: for example, the need to show the guests a film to the end (rather than half of it as was done with the picture "Forgotten Melody for Flute") and not in excerpts as happened with the documentary program.

The ASK president from the Soviet side Elem Klimov noted, directly and self-critically as always, that we still have some things to learn about organizing work.

But the above should not diminish the results. They inspire optimism. There will be a breakthrough into the American film market and there will be a joint television film "Mirror of the World"; the prospects for opening a movie theater of American film in Moscow and of Soviet film in the United States are becoming realistic, the computer donated by the Americans will facilitate efficient communications between the sides and the photo exhibit by N. Gnesyuk presented to the guests will remind them of the days spent in Moscow. The main thing is that there is contact and a common language is being found.

"Of course," Vladimir Pozner, a member of the ASK ruling board and a popular commentator and columnist, noted, "one organization cannot eliminate all the stereotypes that have been created over the decades. But it is after all not a small thing to reveal the mechanism of their occurrence."

ASK is a good cause!

12424

"Lost" Novel on Gokdepe Battle Republished

18350416 [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET ADEBIYATY in Turkmen No. 10, 1987 and No. 12, 1987 carries on pp 114-170 and pp 3-76, respectively, a

67,000-word novel by Ata Govshudov and an "afterword" of 8,300 words by Nargylyj Khojageldiyev. The novel, which is entitled "Perman", concerns the ramifications of the battle of Gokdepe for the Turkmens involved in the fighting against the Tsarist army. While some parts of the work were published in 1939-1940, the work was not completed until 1948. It was sent to the CC TCP for examination and, according to Khojageldiyev, was "lost" during the Ashkhabad earthquake of 1948. Some critics of that time felt that "there were certain mistakes in its depiction of historical events, especially in connection with the battle of Gokdepe." Khojageldiyev claims it is "one of the finest works in Soviet Turkmen prose" and that its "mistakes" were a result of conclusions reached by those who know nothing about the novel, or if they did know, intentionally spread false rumors about it."

**Statute on Administering Psychiatric Assistance
Published**

180G0238a Moscow VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO
SOVETA SSSR in Russian No 2, 13 Jan 88 pp 22-27

Statute of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the
Conditions and Procedures for Administering Psychiatric
Assistance, issued 5 January 1988]

[Text] Statute on the Conditions and Procedures for
Administering Psychiatric Assistance

I. General Provisions

1. This statute, in accordance with the Basic Principles of
Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on
Health Care and other legislative acts of the USSR,
defines the conditions and procedures for administering
specialized medical assistance to persons with mental
disorders and for protecting their rights and interests,
and it also defines measures for protecting society from
dangerous actions by the mentally ill.

2. Persons suffering from mental disorders are guaranteed:

the provision of free, qualified medical assistance on the
basis of the latest advances in science, technology and
medical practice;

the use of palliative medications and methods authorized by the USSR Ministry of Health, as well as the least restrictive conditions of maintenance necessary for attaining the goals of treatment;

respectful and humane treatment that precludes the degradation of human dignity;

social and legal assistance, judicial defense, procurator's oversight, and the assistance of an attorney for the securing of their rights and legitimate interests.

At the petition of a patient, the patient's relative or legal representative, any psychiatrist employed in institutions of a given locality's public health agencies may be included on his examination commission.

The deprivation of a person's rights and restriction of his legitimate interests are not permitted solely on the grounds that he is under psychiatric observation or in a psychiatric hospital (ward).

The placement of a person known to be mentally healthy in a psychiatric hospital (ward) entails criminal liability in accordance with the Union republics' legislation.

3. Persons with respect to whom there are sufficient grounds for supposing the existence of mental disorders may be subjected without their consent to psychiatric

examination, ongoing clinical observation, or treatment in a psychiatric hospital (ward) only in cases and according to procedures established by this statute.

4. In the performance of duties connected with the administration of medical assistance to the mentally ill and the prevention of their possible commission of socially dangerous acts, the psychiatrist is independent in his decisions and guided only by medical indications and the law.

5. Persons to whom information about citizens' mental disorders becomes known in the course of their performance of their official duties have no right to make that information public. Such persons are subject to punishment in accordance with existing legislation for making such information public.

6. The guidance of treatment and preventive-care institutions that provide psychiatric assistance to the public, as well as oversight to ensure the observance of legislation on the protection of the public's mental health are carried out by the soviets of people's deputies and their executive and administrative agencies in accordance with legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

7. The executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies are required to show concern for mentally ill persons, protect their rights and legitimate interests, and take steps to involve such persons in social life; to provide for the placement of able-bodied persons in jobs at enterprises and in organizations according to their places of residence; to organize, when necessary, special production facilities with lighter working conditions for persons who are organically limited in their ability to work; to appoint, according to procedures established by law, guardians (legal representatives) for mentally ill persons who require them; to help improve the living conditions of such persons; and to take other measures for providing other social assistance.

II. Primary Psychiatric Examination

8. Primary psychiatric examination is the exclusive jurisdiction of the psychiatrist and is carried out with the consent of the examined person or, for persons who have not reached the age of 16 years, the consent of his parents, guardians or trustees. In the event that it is impossible to resolve the question of the mental condition of a person on an outpatient basis, such examination is carried out under the conditions of a psychiatric hospital (ward).

The psychiatrist who carries out the primary examination is required to officially introduce himself to the examinee as a psychiatrist

9. A person who commits actions that provide sufficient grounds for suspecting that he has an expressed mental disorder and, in doing so, disturbs the public order or violates the rules of the socialist community and also

represents an immediate danger to himself or those around him may be subjected without his consent or the consent of his relatives or legal representatives to primary psychiatric examination on the orders of the chief psychiatrist or, in extreme cases, a psychiatrist belonging to a specialized emergency first-aid brigade or territorial treatment and preventive-care institution.

10. A person who has committed a socially dangerous act as stipulated by the criminal law is sent, in the event that doubts arise as to his mental fitness, to undergo a forensic psychiatric examination according to procedures stipulated in criminal procedural legislation.

III. Outpatient Psychiatric Assistance

12. Outpatient psychiatric consultative assistance and treatment, including ongoing psychiatric observation, is carried at the request or with the consent of the patient or, in cases where the patient has not reached 16 years of age or, because of his mental condition, is incapable of freely expressing his will, with the consent of his relatives or legal representatives.

13. Persons who suffer from chronic mental illness with tendencies toward an unfavorable course and are subject to mandatory treatment and ongoing psychiatric observation are provided with outpatient psychiatric assistance independently of their consent, or the consent of their relatives or legal representatives, in accordance with procedures established by the USSR Ministry of Health.

14. A decision as to the need for mandatory ongoing clinical observation of a patient or the termination of such observation is made by a commission of psychiatrists or, in complex and disputed cases, by a commission headed by the chief psychiatrist.

The reasons for the need for mandatory observation should be explained to a patient's relatives or legal representatives, or if the condition of his health permits it, to the patient himself.

IV. Inpatient Psychiatric Assistance

15. The grounds for hospitalization in a psychiatric hospital (ward) are the presence in a person of a mental disorder that requires examination or treatment under inpatient conditions.

Placement in a psychiatric hospital (ward) is done only by a psychiatrist with the consent of the hospitalized person; if that person has not reached 16 years of age or is incapable, because of his mental condition, of the exercise of free will, it is done with the consent of his relatives or legal representatives or, in their absence, the consent of the chief psychiatrist.

16. Patients who because of their mental condition represent an immediate danger to themselves or those around them may be hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital (ward) without their consent or the consent of their relatives or legal representatives—under conditions of for urgent hospitalization—in accordance with the decision of a psychiatrist, with the mandatory prompt informing of the patient's relatives or legal representatives of that fact. The fact should also be reported to a superior public health agency, which, if necessary, checks the legality and grounds of the decision that has been made.

17. The internal affairs agencies are required to provide assistance to medical personnel in carrying out hospitalization in cases stipulated in Arts. 15 and 16 of this statute.

18. Patients who are taken into a hospital (ward) under the conditions of urgent hospitalization are subject in the course of 24 hours, excluding general days off and holidays, to examination by a commission of psychiatrists. If the commission deems it necessary to leave the patient in a psychiatric hospital (ward) for carrying out mandatory treatment, the administration of the hospital (ward) sends a supported finding to this effect, for the purposes of information and oversight, to the chief psychiatrist of the public health agency responsible for the place where the psychiatric hospital (ward) is located, and also informs the patient's relatives or his legal representatives.

The commission's decision may be appealed by the patient, his relatives or his legal representatives to the chief psychiatrist. If the decision on urgent hospitalization was taken by that chief psychiatrist, such an appeal is directed to the chief psychiatrist of the superior public health agency.

19. A finding of the psychiatrists' commission concerning the absence of grounds for urgent hospitalization and mandatory inpatient treatment results in the immediate release of the hospitalized person. Persons with mental disorders may be left for treatment in a hospital (ward) only with their consent or, in cases where a patient is incapable of the exercise of free will, with the consent of his relatives or legal representatives.

20. The release of patients hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital (ward) with their consent or the consent of their relatives or legal representatives is carried out upon their cure or in the case of an improvement in mental state that makes a patient's further stay in a hospital (ward) inadvisable, or is done in accordance with a petition by the patient, his relatives, or his legal representatives.

Patients hospitalized with their consent or the consent of their relatives or legal representatives may be refused release if, as of the moment the demand for release is submitted, it is established that they represent, because of their mental state, direct danger to themselves or

those around them. The matter of their continued mandatory treatment is decided by a commission of psychiatrists or, in complex and disputed cases, by a commission headed by the chief psychiatrist of the public health agency responsible for the area where the psychiatric hospital (ward) is located.

21. Patients placed in a psychiatric hospital (ward) under conditions of urgent hospitalization are subject to examination by a commission of psychiatrists no less frequently than once a month to decide whether mandatory treatment should be terminated or continued. In cases of the lengthy stay of these patients in a hospital (ward), the decision to extend their mandatory treatment in an inpatient facility is made every six months by the chief psychiatrist of the public health agency responsible for the place where the hospital (ward) is located on the basis of the finding of a commission of psychiatrists concerning the need to continue mandatory inpatient treatment. In such cases, the public health agencies check to verify the justifiability of placing patients in inpatient facilities and also monitor the length of their stay in hospitals (wards) and the justifiability of decisions to extend their mandatory treatment in an inpatient facility.

22. Compulsory treatment of the mentally ill who have committed socially dangerous acts stipulated by criminal law is carried out according to procedures established by legislation and is done in psychiatric hospitals (wards) of the public health agencies with ordinary, intensified or strict observation.

Persons to whom the court has applied compulsory treatment are subject to mandatory commission reexamination no less frequently than once every six months.

The Basic Duties and Rights of Psychiatrists of the Public Health Agencies

23. The provision of organizational and methods guidance for the work of public health agencies' treatment and preventive-care institutions that provide psychiatric assistance, the monitoring of their activities, and the resolution of complex and disputed questions connected with psychiatric examination, ongoing clinical observation and hospitalization in a psychiatric hospital (ward) are carried out by the chief rayon, city, oblast, kray and republic psychiatrists, who are appointed by the appropriate public health agencies.

24. Chief psychiatrists are required, within the limits of their jurisdiction:

to develop proposals for public health agencies for protecting the mental health of the public and organizing specialized medical assistance for persons with mental disorders;

to monitor the work of the public health agencies' treatment and preventive-care institutions that provide psychiatric assistance, to regularly organize the inspection of them with the participation of representatives of the local soviets of people's deputies, and also to check up on the work of subordinate chief psychiatrists;

to take steps necessary to protect the rights and legitimate interests of persons suffering from mental disorders;

to take steps to protect society against dangerous actions by the mentally ill; and

to examine citizens' petitions and complaints according to established procedures.

25. Chief psychiatrists have the right:

to personally conduct, or to prescribe, in cases stipulated by Arts. 8, 9 and 11 of this statute, at their own initiative or at the petition of relatives, state agencies or public organizations, the initial and repeat examination of persons in relation to whom there are sufficient grounds for suspecting the existence of mental disorders;

to make decisions concerning the need to establish the ongoing clinical observation (registration) and to terminate such observation (removal from the register) with respect to persons with mental disorders;

to send persons with mental disorders to a psychiatric hospital (ward) in cases stipulated by this statute, including cases in which their consent or the consent of their relatives or legal representatives is lacking;

when the relevant medical and social indications exist, to decide, on the basis of the findings of a commission of psychiatrists, to extend the stay of patients in a psychiatric hospital (ward), or to discharge them; and

to submit to the court petitions based on the findings of a commission of psychiatrists regarding the termination or alteration of compulsory measures of a medical nature with respect to mentally ill persons who have committed socially dangerous acts.

VI. Concluding Provisions

26. The rules for conducting initial examinations and for providing outpatient and inpatient psychiatric assistance, including the urgent hospitalization of mentally ill persons who represent an immediate danger to themselves or those around them, the procedures for keeping patients in inpatient facilities, and their rights and duties during the period of their stay in psychiatric hospitals (wards) are established by the USSR Ministry of Health in accordance with this statute and are subject to publication and are to be open for public inspection.

27. The actions of a chief psychiatrist may be appealed by the person with respect to whom they are committed and by his representative, in accordance with the USSR Law on Procedures for Appealing to the Courts Unlawful Actions by Officials Who Infringe on Citizens' Rights, to the chief psychiatrist of the superior public health agency and then to the court, or directly to the court.

28. Oversight over the observance of legality in the provision of psychiatric assistance by treatment and preventive-care institutions is carried out by the USSR Procurator General and procurators subordinate to him in accordance with the USSR Law on the USSR Procurator.

8756

Compulsory Psychiatric Treatment Amendments to RSFSR Criminal Code

18000238b Moscow VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVOGO SOVETA RSFSR in Russian No 2, 13 Jan 88 pp 22-27

[Ukase of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Changes and Additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code and Criminal-Procedure Code Regarding Compulsory Psychiatric Treatment, issued 5 Jan 1988]

[Text]Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

35. On the Making of Changes and Additions in the RSFSR Criminal and Criminal-Procedure Codes

The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

I. To introduce into the RSFSR Criminal Code ratified by the 27 October 1960 RSFSR law (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR, No 40, 1960, p 591) the following changes and additions:

1. To set forth Articles 58 and 59 in the following versions:

"Article 58. The Application of Compulsory Measures of a Medical Nature to the Mentally Ill

"To persons who have committed socially dangerous acts in a state of mental incompetence or have committed such acts in a state of mental competence but who, prior to the issuing of a sentence or during the serving of punishment, have become ill with a mental illness that deprives them of the ability to be aware of their actions or govern them, the court may apply the following compulsory measures of a medical nature, to be carried out by treatment institutions of the public health agencies:

1) placement in a psychiatric hospital with ordinary observation;

2) placement in a psychiatric hospital with intensified observation;

3) placement in a psychiatric hospital with strict observation.

"Article 59. Placement in a Psychiatric Hospital

"Placement in a psychiatric hospital with ordinary observation may be applied by the court with respect to a mentally ill person who, on the basis of his mental state and the nature of the socially dangerous act he has committed, needs to be kept and treated in a hospital on a compulsory basis.

"Placement in a psychiatric hospital with intensified observation may be applied by the court with respect to a mentally ill person who has committed a socially dangerous act not connected with an attempt on the life of a citizen and who, on the basis of his mental state, does not represent a threat to those around him but needs to be kept and treated in a hospital under conditions of intensified observation.

"Placement in a psychiatric hospital with strict observation may be applied by the court with respect to a mentally ill person who, on the basis of his mental condition and the nature of the socially dangerous act he has committed, represents special danger to society and needs to be kept in a hospital and treated under conditions of strict observation.

"Persons who are placed in psychiatric hospitals with intensified or strict observation are kept under conditions that rule out the possibility of their commission of new socially dangerous acts."

2. To add to the code Article 126.2, as follows:

"Article 126.2. Illegal Placement in a Psychiatric Hospital

"The deliberate placement in a psychiatric hospital of a mentally healthy person—

is punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of up to two years or by corrective work for the same period with deprivation of the right to hold certain positions or engage in certain activities for a period of from one to three years, or without such deprivation."

II. In Article 412, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal-Procedure Code ratified by the 27 October 1960 RSFSR law, to replace the words, "upon a representation by the administration of the medical institution in which the given person is being kept," with the words, "upon a representation by the chief psychiatrist of the public health agency to which the medical institution in which the given person is being kept is subordinate."

III. This ukase takes effect 1 March 1988.

8756

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Discusses Need for, Form of Law on Youth

18000221 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by I. Ilinskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences: "We Have the Right! Why a Law on Youth Is Needed"]

[Text] At the end of last year, I took part in a Leningrad television broadcast in the "Public Opinion" series. The question of the rights and responsibilities of youth with respect to restructuring was discussed in a 3-hour live broadcast. Many questions were also raised on the Law of the USSR on Youth, of course.

I confess that I was very surprised by the aggressive position of a large number of participants in the broadcast who shouted with a kind of poorly concealed hostility: "We have enough rights! We don't need any Law on Youth!"

Later, after the broadcast, a little was cleared up in private conversations. They said: "The law is necessary to put a 'bridle' on youth for the convenience of controlling it." "The law elevates the Komsomol over all other youth associations and makes them subordinate to it."

We often hear questions such as "Why is a law needed?", "Why on youth?", "What will it give?" and "What kind will it be?" But there is also another opinion: "The 20th Komsomol Congress advocated the drafting of the law and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee supported this idea. What else is there to argue about?"

There is something. According to the data from our survey, only 60 percent of young people are unequivocally in favor of the law, more than 12 percent oppose it, and roughly one-third have no definite opinion or are uncertain.

So a basis exists for questions. At the same time, the questions are reasonable in many respects, taking into account the weakness of democratic traditions in our society, the fact that the level of political awareness among the youth is not so high, and the general lack of legal culture and the legal nihilism, that is, the lack of faith in the fairness of law in general. (The lack of faith which developed during our country's difficult years, when laws often were used to sanction illegal action and to reinforce the administrative system.) Indeed, in this case: "One law more, or one law less—what will be changed?"

All the same, why do we need a Law on Youth? It is difficult to answer this question from a purely juridical point of view. But the concept of the law has arguments of a higher order—social, political, and ideological, if you like.

It is worth remembering that law translates those most important public relationships which express the political will of the people into the form of a law (obligatory rules). For this reason, it is not the officials, and not even the youth themselves (since the law applies to them), but the people, the public, who should decide whether there should or should not be a law.

Intensification has brought to the forefront a demand for ability, knowledge, skill and initiative among the people that is unprecedented in acuteness and scope. And among the youth first of all. (The new generations that are emerging are also the main "accelerator" in society's development.) At present, however, this demand is much "stronger" than the practical capabilities of the youth and their intellectual, creative, and energy potential. How do we bring them into conformity, by what means? And what is more, under the conditions of the sharply intensified problem of the continuity of generations, which reflects the contradictions in the continuity of social development in general?

The problem of continuity of generations has always been a political problem and has always been resolved by means of politics. Our crucial, revolutionary time demands the same thing. Perhaps to an even greater extent. We need a new type of continuity of generations, which should be based on "complete political trust in the youth" (M. S. Gorbachev). It is precisely for this reason that we are also speaking now about the need for a new, more effective youth policy; it would differ from the previous policy not only because of its greater scientific validity, comprehensiveness, and consistency, but also (and this is the main point!) because material, organizational and juridical guarantees would be provided for it.

Thus, improvement and development of "youth" law is only one of the aspects of the new youth policy. And the Law on Youth, in turn, is only one of the features in reinforcing the political and legal foundations of work concuded with youth by society and the state and the activity of the Komsomol and other youth organizations, although it is also an extremely important feature—"revision," improvement and development of the entire range of legislative documents on youth should be begun with it.

The need for this is obvious, since "youth" law, first of all, is out of date to a large extent, and secondly there are many gaps in it; thirdly, it is not systematic, and fourthly (as a consequence of all these conditions), it not only fails to keep pace with life, but it impedes the process of realization for youth in the economic, political, social, and spiritual fields.

So what do we see as the basic objectives of the Law on Youth? It should define the economic and legal guarantees for implementation of the youth policy and for the Komsomol and other youth associations to carry out their own distinctive functions.

The Law on Youth should define the duties of the state and its organs, as well as public organizations, in molding and developing the young generation spiritually and in resolving the problems of its education, labor, everyday life, leisure time, and the like, and it should reinforce the principles and standards of their interaction with the All-Union Komsomol and other youth associations.

It should define and reinforce the most important powers and responsibility of the All-Union Komsomol and other youth associations in implementing youth policy and in shaping, meeting and protecting the socially important interests of young men and women.

One of the most important objectives of the law is to assist in shaping the youth's new juridical thinking and in firmly establishing the principles of socialist legality and the organic unity of rights and responsibilities in its consciousness.

Who needs the Law on Youth? Society—that is how I would answer this question. And the state and its organs, first of all.

It is a gross error to assume that the problems of youth are their own business or the exclusive concern of the Komsomol. Youth policy is a state matter. Only the state can properly provide for a youth policy materially. And only society, through the state, can establish the political, organizational and legal machinery which will enable the Komsomol and other youth associations to play a more significant role in the lives of young men and women than previously.

By investing resources, labor and effort "in the youth," society not only increases its creative potential, but reproduces and shapes itself as well. But the Law on Youth is also needed for the youth themselves. "Youth" law has been called upon to accelerate the acquisition of independent status by the young generation (possibly earlier acquisition of an education, a vocation, a family, and so forth), and this also means accelerated realization of their own creative potential as well. And the more this takes place by mutual agreement and without problems, and hence more efficiently, the greater the extent to which youth activity is provided for by law.

The Law on Youth is needed for the Komsomol as a political organization. While yesterday the Komsomol was speaking "in the name" of society, seeing its principal task as "adapting" young persons to existing social relationships and at times not taking their interests into account in the process, this is impossible today. The interest of personality has been placed at the center of society's restructuring, and the Komsomol has no other way to revitalize its shaky authority than to appeal to the interests of the youth.

And this means that it should hold much stronger positions in the area of social management—in soviet and state organs and in labor collectives. A committee of

the Komsomol should be a plaintiff when necessary, and have the right of "veto" where the interests of the youth are disregarded. The Komsomol is oriented precisely toward this by the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress.

One of the important objectives of the law is the translation of political directives into legal language and the establishment of an effective system of Komsomol competence. In the new economic situation, there is an obvious need to establish advice centers, which already function under certain Komsomol committees, but possibly regular departments such as the economic-legal departments which existed from top to bottom in the Komsomol during the NEP period, when the youth were in urgent need of protection.

I do not intend to place an equal sign between the Komsomol and all youth, of course. An independent movement and the diversity of its forms have already deprived the Komsomol of an exclusive, monopolistic position in realizing and meeting the interests of youth. Today the Komsomol is a unified form of organizing youth, but not the only one. And this process will grow with the further democratization of society.

For this reason, we are fully justified in saying that the Law on Youth is needed for other youth organizations as well.

There is no denying the main thing, the fact that an important distinction between the independent movement and the Komsomol at times is precisely the former's independence. It is another matter that there are negative elements in it along with its positive principles. The rule of law, and the law in particular, should give free range to those trends and forms which respond to the interests of society and restructuring and neutralize those which are at variance with these interests.

Finally, the Law on Youth is necessary for the individual young person. Especially in resolving social problems and in production.

Would it have been possible yesterday to conceive of a major enterprise which not only did not need young specialists, but which made every effort to get rid of them? Today there are many such enterprises. There will be more of them tomorrow. Cost accounting "pushes out" from production those workers who do not have enough knowledge, experience and skill. A problem! But after all, 15 million persons are to leave the field of physical production by the year 2000.

It should be kept in mind that we are to develop a law unlike any other in the Soviet legal system. The most general conception of the future law may be provided by its model structure. In our opinion, it should have a preamble, a general part, and (for the present) five sections. These include the participation of youth in state construction and social and political life (it is

assumed that there will also be a major section on the Komsomol and other youth organizations here); youth, the economy and scientific and technical progress; the social development of youth and cultural construction; and the education and training of youth. And finally, the material, organizational, and legal guarantees to implement the law.

We would like to develop a document which repeats what applies to all Soviet citizens least of all and singles out the specific problems, rights and responsibilities of young persons.

We would like to prepare a draft which is not a collection of existing documents and which is not lost in details, but at the same time, one which is a document of direct action and does not simply "refer" a young person to specific laws.

We would like to have a law which works not only to preserve, retain and reproduce the social relationships which have been developed (the best and positive ones), but to improve and develop these relationships first of all. The law, which would look ahead (inasmuch as this is possible for a legal document), it would be aimed at the future, and it would serve as a kind of "accelerator" for the development of youth, and hence all of society.

The social creativity of youth will increase at an accelerated pace if the new forms of the Youth Residential Area, the social initiative funds, the activity of independent associations, and so forth) do not "run into" yesterday's directions and are not suppressed by them, but are met by legal encouragement and free range. For this reason, we would like the Law on Youth to abandon the "directive," "obligatory" and "prohibiting" approaches that predominate in our legislation. The new juridical thinking requires that they be "withdrawn" to the background, although prohibition and constraint have been and will continue to be important elements of law with which to combat violations of the law.

All the same, the elements which contribute to emancipation of persons' thoughts and actions should occupy the main position in law in general, and in "youth" law in particular. A new legal concept was advanced at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: everything which is not prohibited by law is permitted. The Law on Youth should function in the same way.

We would like to develop a law that is protective in nature which defends the youth. And this means that improvement in "youth" law should take place when humanism and democratism are strengthened in it. In severely criticizing the youth, let us think seriously about where they get this consumerism, double morality, cruelty, alienation, drunkenness, drug addiction, and prostitution?.. Who gave them "lessons" in immorality? Who indirectly or directly involved them in "adult" and cruel "games"—the shady transactions? Who? No, I am not

inclined at all to remove responsibility from personality and glorify forgiveness for everything and abstract kindness. But after all, it is obvious that "children" are what their "parents" made them.

Unfortunately, judicial statistics do not provide data on the number of errors committed in considering youth affairs. But selective surveys indicate that the number is large. And how many mistakes are made because of the low professionalism of investigators and judges who are not familiar with the psychology of the age or the current problems of the youth! Why not give some thought to the establishment of special courts for children, teenagers and young persons in the course of the legal reform that is being planned in the country?

The law may remain important, but it is "paper" if the guarantees which protect the rights of young citizens, the Komsomol and other youth organizations are not provided for.

An idea is already being floated to establish a youth fund which would serve as a material guarantor of youth policy and implementation of the law. A poll at the ZIL and VAZ indicated that it is supported by 100 percent of the Komsomol workers, 80 percent of the party workers, 78 percent of the trade union activists, and 75 percent of the managers. The idea of establishing a State Committee for Youth Affairs, which would be the organizational guarantor of youth policy and the law is an "old" one (such committees and laws exist in some socialist and a number of capitalist countries). Other variations are possible as well.

Juridical guarantors of the law which stipulate sanctions for its violation by officials are also needed. The new level of legal consciousness, and consequently legal thinking, will remain a good wish if society does not confirm the principle that violation of one law or another and encroachment on the rights and freedoms of a person or organization is intolerable.

And finally, who is "writing" the law?

Preparation of the draft law has been entrusted to our center, where a great deal of sociological research has been conducted which makes it possible to see the situation in the youth environment not from positions of "perception," but on the basis of knowledge that is scientifically reliable.

But it is naive to think that a good law can be worked out by a small group of specialists, and there are very few of them in the country. We need help from all those who are as concerned about the youth problem as they are about their own personal problems. As about the problems of our present and future, moreover. Let us all undertake this together—both the young and the "old." Both "fathers" and "sons."

Jurist Discusses Legislation on Homosexuality
18000258 Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in
Russian No 3, Feb 88 pp 28-29

[Article by A. Ignatov, professor, "On Liability for Sexual Crimes"]

[Excerpts] In the struggle against sexual crime, a significant place is occupied by the problem of criminal liability for male homosexual contact (muzhelozhestvo).

At the present time, sexologists and geneticists have demonstrated that homosexuality can be genetically inherited. In a significant number of cases, homosexuality in both men and women is pathological. People should not be punished for organic pathological defects.

It should also be noted that numerous medical and legal studies have proven that the presence of homosexual tendencies among a certain portion of the population (from one to five percent) poses no threat to society as a whole. The only exceptions are the following cases: when violence is involved; when minors are drawn into homosexual activities; when a person uses his position to draw into homosexual activities a minor or another person over whom he has responsibility; when homosexual conduct takes place in public; when procuring for homosexual purposes takes place.

It must be admitted that the problem of homosexuality is primarily medical, social, and moral. Therefore the establishment of criminal liability for homosexuality in general or for male homosexual contact (muzhelozhestvo) in particular is, in our opinion, far from the best way of curtailing this phenomenon. After all, individuals with irresistible perverted sexual preferences cannot change just by being threatened with punishment.

It should be pointed out that the application to homosexuals of such means of punishment as incarceration leads to a number of difficulties and frequently results not only in violations of (prison) regime, but also to the committing of crimes in correctional-labor institutions.

The well-founded opinion that it is necessary to remove criminal liability from adults for voluntary homosexual relations has often been expressed in Soviet juridical literature. At present, preserving criminal liability for male homosexual contact is being considered as a means of preventing an epidemic of AIDS, the virus of which is spread through blood and by sexual contact. In actuality, AIDS most frequently effects individuals who lead disorderly sexual lives and are careless about personal hygiene, including prostitutes, drug addicts, and homosexuals. However, it is being proposed that strict medical control is essential in order to fight the spread of the AIDS epidemic, and that, when necessary, sexual activity must be prohibited for individuals who are carriers of the disease.

On 25 August 1987 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted an edict "On Measures to Prevent Infection by the AIDS Virus," which established criminal liability for the knowing exposure of another individual to the danger of infection by AIDS, and for the actual infection of another individual with the disease.

Therefore, the question of criminal liability for male homosexual contact (muzhelozhestvo) should be decided independently of the problem of the possibility of spreading the AIDS virus.

At present, criminal liability for homosexual conduct should be established for drawing a minor, either male or female, into a homosexual relationship; for creating a criminal meetingplace for homosexual activity; for procuring; and for homosexual acts involving violence.

Such a resolution of the issue will be in accordance with the general principles of Soviet criminal law. COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Yuridicheskaya literatura", zhurnal "Sovetskaya yustitsiya", 1988

Estonian Supsov Sets Limits to Glasnost for Dissident Groups

18000253 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in
Russian 20 Feb 88 p 1

[Statement by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpts] Many citizens...have expressed alarm and serious concern with regard to certain tendencies and phenomena which are hindering the process of the democratization and restructuring of all spheres of our social life.

We all understand that the processes of renewal are not moving ahead at full speed in all spheres of life. Not everything is running smoothly in our economy, in the area of environmental protection, in mitigating the demographic situation, or in understanding problems in the socio-cultural sphere. In connection with this, there have been incidents in our republic when glasnost has been used by individuals and by groups as a means for fanning hostilities and even for settling old scores. Certain groups have been formed in our republic which, taking advantage of the fact that in international relations a small nationality is more sensitive to anything that might present a threat to its survival, have idealized the period of the Estonian republic and tried to cast aspersions on Soviet Estonia, its history, and socialism in general.

The process of restructuring now underway has been understood and supported by the whole nation. However, it is not being carried out without obstacles and a struggle.

It is not necessary to demonstrate that the political management of society by democratic means does not signify permissiveness towards extremes. Letters sent to the Presidium have justly noted that in any society deviations from commonly accepted norms, deviations which are reprehensible from a moral, cultural, legal, or political point of view, should be kept within definite limits. Even in conditions of democracy and glasnost, we cannot fail to condemn negative phenomena.

This fully applies to those groups which, influenced by foreign propaganda, are with a definite intention calling us to politicize dates in the history of the former Estonian republic. In doing this they harm not only the policy of restructuring, but the socialist system as well.

We will not be turned away from the path we voluntarily chose in 1940.

Reader Opposes Perestroika, Claims Unemployment

18300178 *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA* in Russian 9 Feb 88 p 2

[Letter from Rashid Rachmanovich Giniyatulin, Kara-Balta, under the rubric "Your Opinions About Perestroika": "I Became an Unnecessary Person"]

[Text] You want to hear opinions about perestroika, and I decided to answer a few of your questions, but I am afraid you won't like my answers. I am against perestroika, because soon many people will be laid off and will be without work. I, for example, have noticed that I have not been needed since 1954, so at age 52 I wasn't earning even half the salary of an old-age pension. I say frankly that my talents and abilities have been buried, or I could have been a plant or factory director. With my inventions I could have found economical ways to use coal, kerosene, and solar oils, at the same time keeping the environment clean.

I will answer your question directly: the party organization has a very bad influence on solutions to economic and social problems. Everywhere our metals are collapsing, materials are spoiling and disappearing. And how I am now living doesn't interest the party organization. I earn very little, and what I do earn is "on the side," and this money is not enough.

I am an unemployed person, so I don't know how to increase the effectiveness of production. But from other workers I do know something: glasnost and democratization are spreading very slowly and badly. I became an unnecessary person at an early age, and I can give you many such examples.

It is not necessary to increase the productivity of labor, because this facilitates the growth of unemployment and increases waste. And there are many unemployed

people, even some with diplomas in their hands. I know one man who has four diplomas, but there is no work for him and these diplomas have remained lifeless papers.

I don't highly value the work of buro secretaries and members, since none of them is interested in how I live. These, it seems, are heartless people, since at my age one should already have 25 years of seniority, and no one can help me find work. After perestroika hardly anything new has appeared.

It wouldn't be bad if the newspaper were to publish my remarks, but I just don't believe it will happen. I have 2 possibilities from the job placement bureau, but everyone refuses to hire me. I would like to be a craftsman at home, but even this wish dissolved completely.

FROM THE PUBLISHER: We decided to publish the letter from Rashid Rakhmanovich, although he does not believe in such a possibility. Of course, we'd like to argue and oppose the author, but we think it is better to leave this to the residents of Kara-Balta who have lived and worked with him for many years.

The publisher asks the labor collective of one of the city's newest enterprises—the carpet combine—to discuss the problems raised by R.R. Giniyatulin and tell him through the paper what they consider correct and necessary.

Flexible Work Schedules Suggested For Uzbek Women

18300176 [Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 12 January 1988 carries on page 3 a 2600-word article concerning the difficulty some Uzbek factories are having in recruiting and keeping female employees. The Tashkent Textile Production Association, which operates on 2 shifts, has 700 vacant positions, largely because women with families do not want to work the second shift. Because the women are not given the choice of working the first shift, part-time, or on a flexible schedule, many choose not to work at all. Family obligations and poor public transportation are listed as reasons for not wanting to work the second shift. The association's administration and party committee offer a gloomy scenario: "If we introduce a schedule of three brigades working two shifts, in which the second shift ends at one in the morning, and a complete shift doesn't allow workers to devote Saturdays and Sundays to their families, then we are going to lose many workers..." The author urges factories to institute flexible schedules and part-time work to ease the women's family burdens and to slow the exodus of women from the work force. Another problem faced by factories and planners is that often women do not work because "the husband won't allow it."

Republic Patients Seek Medical Treatment in Moscow

18300177 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 13 January 1988 carries on page 13 an article by Andrei Kuptsov discussing shortcomings in medical care. Kuptsov writes that although comprehensive care is available in republic treatment centers, for treatment of eye, liver, arm, leg, and nerve ailments patients must go to Moscow. In 1986 a total of 24,248 people from the Ukraine; 12,827 from Georgia; 10,092 from Azerbaijan; 8,633 from Kazakhstan; 8,368 from Uzbekistan; and 5,341 from Armenia went to Moscow for treatment. Children's illnesses must also often be treated in Moscow: in 1984, 12,882 children were brought to Moscow for treatment, and in 1986 the number reached 17,563.

Education Against Georgian VD, Narcotics Urged

18130415 [Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 14 November 1987 carries on page 1 a 400-word article by Distinguished Physician Colonel (Retired) V. Keshelava titled "When Hygiene Education Is Lacking," deploring Georgia's Number One ranking in venereal diseases and narcotics abuse, and urging that more efforts be made to educate the public, in particular young people. Radio and TV are doing a good job, but more is needed. The author recalls that in his youth (he is now 75) there was a VD clinic in downtown Kutaisi, whose windows featured displays of pictures, posters, scale models (mulazhi), and statistics showing the dire consequences of VD and narcotics. This kind of propaganda "scared many of us, and it worked." No such displays are in evidence anywhere in Georgia today, but but they ought to be revived—placed in all medical treatment centers, schools, and other public places. A "Hygiene Theater" that once operated in Tbilisi should also be revived.

Turkmen Teacher Expelled From CPSU On Drug Charges

18350415 [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 22 January 1988 carries on page 3 an 800-word article by A. Bayliyev headlined "The Struggle Continues" highlighting efforts to fight drug and alcohol abuse in Turkmenbashi Rayon. Pointing out that schools are a focal point in this campaign, he notes that a survey of drug users found that "there were education workers who used drugs." He cites a recent case based on materials supplied by the chief physician at the rayon psychoneurological clinic: "CPSU member Kh. Annayev worked at the No 7 secondary school and had more than 20 years' seniority. However, he stained the reputations of members of his pedagogical collective and all educators in the rayon. He was found by militia workers to have a narcotic substance in his possession.

By a decree of the school's primary party organization and after review by the Turkmen Communist Party rayon buro, he was expelled from the ranks of the CPSU." He also received a year in prison.

"Rock Against Drug Addiction" Concert to be Held in Moscow

LD291200 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT
29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—U2, Scorpions, Falco, Peter Gabriel, Julian Lennon, Aquarium and many other famous rock performers and groups from the United States, Western Europe and the USSR have consented to take part in the international humanitarian action - rock against drug addiction. It will be held late in March in Moscow. Soviet and foreign journalists were told this today at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Vitaliy Korotich, editor-in-chief of the popular Soviet weekly OGONEK, who is one of the initiators of this action.

The three concerts by rock against drug addiction in Moscow's Olimpiyskiy Complex will demonstrate once again the growing openness and democratisation in the USSR because both these phenomena - rock music and drug addiction - were treated as non-existent for a long time here, Vitaliy Korotich said. "We hope that the concerts will be attended not by chance people but by true fans of rock music and those who want to make their contribution to the struggle against drug addiction", he stressed.

The entire gate receipts will be donated to the United Nations fund for struggle against drug addiction and to the USSR Ministry of Public Health because this problem is quite urgent for the USSR. Vladimir Yegorov, head of the directorate of narcology at the USSR Ministry of Public Health, said that the total number of identified and registered addicts in the USSR has approached 50,000. That is why money derived from international concerts will be used for equipping narcological clinics and the treatment of patients.

The Soviet peace committee is taking an active part in organising the humanitarian action. Its vice president Vladimir Orel said that the organisation rock musicians for peace was actively functioning under the auspices of the peace committee. It took part in joint concerts by Soviet and foreign performers held in Moscow last year.

The Hungarian concert organisation Intershow, the West German company Art A.G., the American firm Belka International and a number of sponsoring firms are taking part in carrying out the action rock against drug addiction.

It is also intended to put out several disks and to display recordings of the concerts in various countries.

**Uzbek CP Newspaper Defends Its Coverage,
Handling of Crimean Tatar Issues**
*18300154 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13
Feb 88 p 3*

[Two letters, under rubric "Two Letters on a Single Topic," authors' names indicated in text; followed by editorial comment]

[Text] "Without Prejudice...?", Residents of the city of Dzhambay, Samarkand Oblast: I. Abduramanov, S. Osmanov, S. Yakubov, A. Osmanov, A. Gifarov — total, 18 signatures.

We would like to know why PRAVDA VOSTOKA on its pages represents Crimean Tatars in an unattractive manner. Why is it that the Crimean Tatars who have been demanding a just resolution of the national question, the full restoration of their civil rights, and the abolition of the 1956 and 1967 Ukases that discriminate against the Crimean Tatar nation and that infringe upon human dignity are represented on the pages of the newspaper as extremists, etc.? Because it will not be long before the entire Crimean Tatar nation is so slandered. Are we really to believe that our desire to be equal among equals is so exceptional?

"The national territory" is a term that was invented not by the Crimean Tatars. This territory is possessed by Russians, Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Badakhshantsy, and hundreds of other nations and nationalities who live in the USSR. And what if it comes to language, culture, good traditions, folk art, and national peculiarities? Are we really to believe that these are not inherent in all nations? In the USSR they develop for everyone, whereas for the Crimean Tatars those high concepts are degraded. Are we really to believe that it is not painful for any self-respecting representative of a nation to see the monuments of his culture perishing, including its dignity? We appeal to you to approach us and our problems without prejudice. And it would redound to the honor of PRAVDA VOSTOKA to illuminate honestly and boldly our problem and the history of that problem.

Our Fate Is In Our Hands, R. Godzhenov, teacher at Tashkent School No. 58

Revolutionary reforms are under way in our country. The restructuring has touched upon many problems which had remained in the shadows for many years. One of the issues being resolved is the one raised by Soviet citizens of the Crimean Tatar nationality.

All of us were deeply gratified by the creation of the authoritative State Commission to resolve our problems. Working commissions are in operation in the outlying areas and the makeup of those commissions includes the most respected individuals who are representatives of our nation. The commission has done a tremendous amount of work. In the Crimea, the situation and the

attitude toward us have changed. More than a thousand families who arrived there have already been registered and are being given jobs. Currently the questions of the broad and complete practical resolution of this problem are being considered.

This positive process is under way and is receiving its development.

However, certain individuals, deceived by the "leaders" of the Crimean Tatars, continue to commit acts that have nothing in common with the interests of the nation. Much has already been written in the press about their escapades and extremist actions. Each one of us, deep down, is aware of and understands the fact that they are committing unauthorized, and sometimes even illegal acts. It is not in the public squares or in the streets that the problem is resolved. And it is completely understandable that their actions evoke the profound indignation of every Soviet citizen. Soviet citizens, including Crimean Tatars themselves, have patiently explained this to them many times. But instead of coming to their senses, stopping, weighing their actions, and listening to public opinion, they are becoming more impudent with every passing day, shouting at the street corners, spewing provocational slogans, and slinging mud at honest people.

The extremists' impudence knows no bound. They spread anonymous slanderous and blasphemous fabrications that are directed at decent people who do not want to have anything in common with them. How long will this disgraceful situation last? Have we really become so callous, so indifferent to the honor, dignity, and future of our nation?

Who gave them that right — the right to stir up white-hot passions, to incite others, to protest in the name of the nation in front of hotels or in city squares, or to give interviews to people who want to compromise our system and the friendship of our nations? This harsh question must confront each of us today.

We are all children of the great country of Lenin. We all have the same fate, the same Motherland, the same road. That has been proven by the entire course of our country's development. The friendship among Soviet citizens has been reinforced by the holy blood of our fathers and grandfathers, who, shoulder to shoulder, alongside of the other nations, fought on the war fronts and who have been working selflessly during peacetime. Everything that is honest, brave, and shining in each of us deplores and protests against the hypocrites who have been coordinating their actions with our enemies and who are obviously using others as their mouthpieces. No one has been given the right to encroach upon that which is most sacred for every Soviet citizen — the great friendship of fraternal nations.

Editor's note

We see before us two letters. With points of view that are diametrically opposed. The authors of the first letter obviously did not think that we would publish it.

Let us say immediately that the authors of that letter are thinking in a completely befuddled way. PRAVDA VOSTOKA has never equated provocateurs who, by their actions, have damaged the just and well thought-out resolution of a question and a nation and its honest workers who do not want to have anything in common with the extremists and who censure their actions.

Why force an open door? The Crimean Tatars, together with all the nations of our country, enjoy the rights that have been firmly established in the USSR Constitution. It must be especially emphasized that PRAVDA VOSTOKA has never pursued the goal of artificially differentiating one nation from another. And there is no need to go far for examples: from issue to issue, the newspaper has published materials that throw light on the life of people of all nationalities, that deal with problems of deep concern for the entire population of our republic, including the Crimean Tatars.

That, as the expression goes, is where we stand. And it is our clear-cut position.

We know that the Crimean Tatars have had an uneasy fate. The question that is asked today has come down to all of us as a heavy heritage from the past, and its resolution will take time, calm, and careful reflection. All the Soviet citizens are convinced that, in the overwhelming majority, Crimean Tatars are honest, conscientious workers who like to work and who know how to work. Therefore we have never equated them to those who are turning themselves inside out in order to show themselves to be champions of the nation and to make "leaders" of themselves.

If one analyzes the situation calmly, one will find that, other than personal vanity and the desire to stand out at any cost, there is nothing behind their slogans. Especially since the entire series of questions raised by the Crimean Tatars are being resolved at the highest level, in a serious, planned manner, step by step.

Uzbekistan, where most of the Crimean Tatars live, is currently experiencing a difficult and complicated time. It is necessary for everyone collectively and individually, irrespective of his nationality, to display first of all his conscientiousness and the maximum amount of concentration on the unresolved problems. Instead, what are individual imaginary leaders engaging in? Under the false banner of the struggle for human rights, and playing on national emotions, they draw people away from the job at hand and attempt to push them into taking poorly thought-out actions and into developing an inferiority complex, artificially separating the Crimean Tatars from the rest of the Soviet nation.

Who needs this? Obviously not the nation, but rather those who, because of their vanity, are completely unwilling to part with the "rostrum" to which they have elevated themselves, or to reject the dues for every kind of representation...

We are in deep solidarity with those who have learned a bitter lesson from the uproar that has been stirred up and is still being stirred up by irresponsible elements, who understand what they are pushing the nation into and where they are attempting to lead them.

The party and state agencies and the editorial office have been receiving a large number of letters in which both the Crimean Tatars and representatives of other nationalities censure the provocation actions. But there are also letters — and we make no attempt to conceal this fact — in which people who have been caught on the extremists' fishing pole express profoundly erroneous views. Explaining their incorrect position to them is the duty of every honest person, regardless of his nationality.

During the period of glasnost and broad democratization, many things are moving into new positions. But this does not have anything in common with permissiveness, and does not remove the responsibility that every individual bears for his actions. People must also have a deep awareness and understanding of this.

Soviet citizens take a very respectful attitude toward the representatives of any nation and nationality. Naturally, our newspaper will continue to demonstrate broadly the friendship and brotherhood of nations, the selfless labor of the worker, the peasant, and the intellectual in the name of the power and welfare of the Homeland. Similarly, it will continue to criticize anything that hinders our forward movement.

5075

Recognition of Jewish Cultural, Historical Contributions in Lithuania Urged

18000230 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
6 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by Yevsey Yatsovskis, participant in the revolutionary movement in Lithuania and in the Great Patriotic War, candidate in historical sciences: "To Respect the National Sentiments of All Peoples"]

[Text] On 16 October of last year I had the honor of participating in the ceremonial plenum of the anti-Zionist committee of Soviet society honoring the 70th anniversary of the Great October. Guests from our fraternal socialist countries came to this forum—representatives of the Jewish Cultural-Enlightenment Society of Bulgaria, the director of the Prague Jewish State Museum, and leaders of the Jewish Cultural Society of the Polish People's Republic, and guests from Cuba.

The chairman of the anti-Zionist committee, two-time Hero of the Soviet Union, Colonel-General David Dragunskiy illuminated in detail the tasks and activities of the committee. Based on specific facts, the speaker exposed the reactionary essence of Zionism, which has in the present day become a variation of real racism.

We know that the spread of Zionist sentiments among the Jews is facilitated by another variety of brazen racism—anti-Semitism. The speaker reminded the audience of the angry words with which V. I. Lenin castigated anti-Semites. In his speech recorded in 1919 on a phonograph record and entitled "On the Pogrom Persecution of Jews", Lenin said: "It is not the Jews who are the enemies of the workers. The enemies of the workers are the capitalists of all countries. There are workers and laborers among the Jews, and they comprise their majority. They are our brothers in oppression by capital, our comrades in the struggle for socialism... Shame on the accursed tsarism which tortured and persecuted the Jews. Shame on those who sow hatred toward the Jews, who sow enmity toward other nations" (V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works", Vol. 38, pp 242, 243).

The plenum decisively condemned the Black Hundred attacks of the leaders of the so-called informal "Pamyat" society.

The participants in the revolutionary movement of my generation remember well how the Lithuanian Communist Party actively fought against Zionism as well as against anti-Semitism in the years of bourgeois rule. The demagoguery of the Zionists and their efforts to dupe the Jews by various false promises were directed toward distracting them from the joint struggle against the Fascist dictatorship, the struggle for the economic demands of the working class, and finally for the restoration of Soviet rule in Lithuania. A significant portion of the Jewish working population supported the communists. This positive tendency was retained also in the post-war years, when the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War saved the Jews from inevitable physical extermination.

In the period of revolutionary restructuring taking place in our country and under the conditions of truth and openness, there should be no gaps remaining in our history. Among the many incidents of lawlessness associated with the personality cult of Stalin, there was also the unjustified repression of leading Jewish writers, poets, actors, and other cultural leaders in the post-war years.

Cultural and ideological work among the people of Jewish nationality grew noticeably weaker, and often ceased altogether. There cannot be a vacuum in the ideological struggle, and an elementary rule is in force here. That is, wherever our ideological work is absent, its place is immediately taken by ideological enemies, in this case the Zionist elements—local as well as foreign. We must sadly conclude that they have been able to fool,

simply to delude a certain portion of the Jewish population with their tales of the promised land, and they have left to seek their "happiness" in Israel and other countries. It is a shame that this happened also with those who previously had nothing to do with Zionist ideology.

So that such a thing does not happen again, and also for purposes of safeguarding Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality against hostile ideological diversions, we must not forget that man does not live by bread alone. It is necessary to promote the further development of Jewish socialist culture within the general system of culture of all the Soviet peoples.

Recently we watched the televised "Vilnius-Geneva" communication, and we remember how one citizen of Switzerland who was visiting the capital of our republic complained that there are no traces in Vilnius to remind us of the fact that this city was at one time the center of Jewish culture. A Vilnius resident of Jewish nationality, Doctor of Historical Sciences S. Atamukas, responded to him. Atamukas focused his opponent's attention on the genocide committed against the Jews by Hitler's occupation forces, mentioned that there is a Jewish amateur performance group active in Vilnius, and left it at that.

Naturally, it was difficult for S. Atamukas to encompass everything on the spur of the moment. He could have mentioned that recently in Vilnius on Yovaras Street a memorial plaque was ceremoniously unveiled, honoring the leading social activist and participant in the Lithuanian revolutionary and partisan movement, the honored republic cultural leader, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor Genrikas Zimanas. He could have said that in Vilnius there is a street named after Sheyna Madeyskerite, a member of the Vilnius ghetto party organization, as well as a factory named after another ghetto communist hero, Itsikas Vitenbergas. He could have said that the memory of Rapolas Charnas, Alteris Klejneris, Ges Glezerite, Itsikas Meskupas, Mark Antokolskiy, Isaak Levitan and many other Jews—participants in the revolutionary movement and cultural leaders—still lives in Lithuania. Today famous people of Jewish nationality who have won broad recognition and acclaim are fruitfully working in Vilnius and in other cities of the republic. However, these instances cannot fill the gaps in the sphere of preserving the cultural heritage of the Jews in Lithuania, and particularly in Vilnius.

First of all, we should resurrect the Jewish museum in Vilnius, whose materials have been handed over to various other museums, libraries, and archive institutions. As we recall, the museum displays told of the participation of the Jews in the revolutionary movement, as well as of the resistance in the Jewish ghetto during the horrible years of Hitler's occupation. Valuable artifacts of the material and spiritual culture of the Jewish population were displayed here.

I believe that a Jewish language book section could be created at one of the public libraries in Vilnius. The site of the former Vilnius Jewish ghetto should be marked with a monument or memorial plaque. We must think what else could be done in this regard.

In bringing to life the course of perestroika, it is necessary to decisively refute certain outdated concepts and repulsive habits. For decades, the vicious practice of intentionally omitting mention of the Jews for various reasons has become entrenched, as if they do not exist.

On 23 February 1942 I came from the Kalinin front to Gorky oblast, where the 16th Lithuanian Infantry Division was being formed. People of other nationalities fought in its ranks alongside the Lithuanians. According to the figures of Candidate of Historical Sciences Y. Dobrovolskas, on 1 January 1943, Jewish soldiers in the division comprised 29 percent (Y. Dobrovolskas, "Lithuanian Soldiers at the Fronts of the Great Patriotic War". Vilnius, 1967, p. 49). However, often in the radio and television broadcasts devoted to the combat operations of the 16th Lithuanian Infantry Division during the listing of the national composite of the division, there was no mention of the fact that Jews were also fighting within its ranks. We should be rightfully indignant at such, I would say, imprudent attempts to hide the truth about the participation of Jews in combat on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War and about the fact that many of them died a brave death and that many Jews were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Here is another example. At the constituent conference of the Republic Society of Veterans of War and Labor held on 14 March 1987, the chairman of the mandate commission announced in his speech how many Lithuanians, Russians, and Ukrainians participated in the conference. There were 6 veterans of Polish nationality and 10 others. Among these 10 "others", as far as I know, there were 8(!) persons of Jewish nationality. Why was this not announced in the report of the mandate commission? Was it so hard to do?

At this conference I sent a note to the presidium with a request to announce how many Jewish veterans actually participated in it, and asked whether it wasn't time now, under the current conditions of glasnost, to stop calling the Jews "others". Unfortunately, I received no answer.

Such tactless disregard is a grave insult to the national sentiments, those same feelings about which CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev spoke in his speech entitled "October and Perestroika: The Revolution Continues".

In many places in Lithuania, Hitler's occupation left traces of the cruelest genocide, unheard of in the history of mankind—fraternal graves from mass extermination of Jews. Here peaceful, unarmed, innocent people were executed by the thousands. Among them were women, old men, children and babies.

Although the days of commemorating the dead are celebrated in the republic on 9 May and at the beginning of November, nevertheless according to the tradition formed in the post-war period, every year on the days of the executions relatives, loved ones and friends come to these graves to honor the memory of the victims of fascism. Local residents gather there to hold mourning meetings.

In Lazdiyskiy rayon near Katkishkyay, in Yurbarkas, Shvenchenelyay and some other places such meetings are held with the participation of the leaders of local Soviet of People's Deputies executive committee leaders and party raykom representatives. Students come here together with their teachers.

However, in many cities and rayons of the republic the organization of these mourning meetings is left to its own course, and therefore these meetings do not always correspond to the proper ideological level.

In the sphere of national relations we must always be guided by the Communist Party directive about the need to ensure the most active participation of workers of all nations and peoples in the solution of the varied problems of life in our multi-national society. All this would facilitate the elimination of the so-called "Jewish question" which has been blown out of proportion with evil intent by Zionist and bourgeois propaganda abroad.

12322

Closing of Yerevan's Chloroprene Rubber Production Facility Announced

18300172a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 17 Feb 88 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report]

[Text] Questions of the environmental protection and air quality of the republic and its capital are constantly at the center of attention of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the ArSSR Council of Ministers. These issues were raised with particular acuteness at the December, 1987 Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum. They put forward the task of taking energetic measures to sharply curtail the harmful emissions of Yerevan's industrial facilities.

As is known, at the end of 1987 the USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution on additional measures to improve the ecological situation in Yerevan. And so, in fulfillment of this decision of the Soviet government, yesterday, on 16 February, the Nairit Scientific-Production Association began the process of halting its chloroprene rubber production (Kauchuk-1) and dismantling the equipment. This work will be completed in the near future.

The completion of this action will significantly reduce the volume of waste gases. The intensity of the ecological situation in Yerevan will be lowered in a significant way, and there will be a very positive effect on the city's air quality.

ArSSR: Environmental Improvements at Kirovakan Chemical Plant

18300172b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian 28 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by *KOMMUNIST* correspondent N. Mesropyan: "Harmful Emissions Are Being Reduced"]

[Text] Concern about environmental protection has become one of the basic tasks for the personnel at the Kirovakan Chemical Plant imeni Myasnikyan.

In the past year much work has been accomplished along this line. They have closed the facilities for producing cyanamide, dilute nitric acid, ammonium nitrate and diamide. And one of the largest operations, carbamide production, has been stopped. These actions have enabled a 1,000-ton reduction in airborne emissions and a 1 million-cubic meter reduction in waste water. The total quantity of waste emissions has been cut by 40 percent.

But the chemists have decided not to stop here. They are taking energetic and ever more effective measures to restore the ecological balance in the vicinity of the plant. "In our view, one more important step has been taken toward environmental protection," reports the plant's director, M. Serobyanyan. "I'm referring to a sharp reduction in the manufacture of commercial carbamide. And although the whole collective well understood that reducing output cannot fail to impact on the plant's economic indicators, we nevertheless have gone in that direction. We believe that people's health is more important."

The harmful emissions in this shop were being created primarily in the production of granulated carbamide, the dust of which, together with ammonium gas, was being freely released into the atmosphere in significant quantities. At the present time, carbamide production has been cut by almost 80 percent, and it is being produced only for use in the manufacture of melamine and cyanuric acid.

To ensure good air quality and environmental protection, the chemical plant intends this year to carry out another 10 or less large-scale measures.

Armenian Resolution on Improving Yerevan Environmental Quality

18300156 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian 7 Jan 88 p 1

[Armenpress report: "In the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] In fulfillment of the USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Additional Measures to Improve the Ecological Environment in the City of Yerevan," the ArSSR

Council of Ministers a decree which outlines integrated measures for the improvement of the air basin of the city.

The workers of Soviet Armenia and its capital have perceived this most important document as a new and striking manifestation of the concern for and attention to the Armenian people on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and the government of the USSR.

The USSR Council of Ministers has instructed the USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry and the ArSSR Council of Ministers to complete repair and restoration work in the Yerevan Nairit Scientific-Production Association in projects for the production of chloroprene rubber (Kau-chuk-2), which were created on the basis of a complete set of imported equipment, and to secure the development of the projected capacity of this production;

after the execution of these measures, the obsolete production of chloroprene rubber (within the Kauchuk-1 Production Plant) will be closed.

Within a month, plans for protective sanitation zones of the Nairit Scientific-Production Association and the Polivinilatsetat Production Association must be developed. Must be presented for agreement and confirmation in accordance with established procedure. The organization of the indicated protective sanitation zones during 1988-1995 must be guaranteed.

As of the beginning of this year, it is necessary to strictly observe the norms for the maximum permissible concentrations of chloroprene (effluents from the Kauchuk-2 Production Plant) at the boundary of the established protective sanitation zone.

In the Nairit Association, installations for the thermal neutralization of the gas effluents of the production of acetic acid will be built and put into operation during 1988-1989.

The sewage installations of the Yerevan Plant for Chemical Agents are being put into permanent operation. During this year, installations for the preliminary treatment of sewage in the Nairit Association will begin to operate. Beginning in 1989, the discharge of contaminated sewage, by enterprises of the chemical industry located in the city of Yerevan, into water reservoirs will be stopped.

The USSR Council of Ministers noted that the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the USSR Gosplan have shown a lack of discipline in the execution of the tasks established by Decree No 1456 of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 24 July 1984, in regard to the organization of a new production plant for chloroprene rubber during 1986-1990 (outside the boundaries of the ArSSR).

The USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the USSR Gosplan have been ordered to take measures to fulfill the established tasks in regard to the creation of new capacities for the production of chloroprene rubber and to secure the development of the necessary planning estimates during the first quarter of 1988.

The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry have been instructed to allot, beginning in 1988, funds and guarantee the supply, for the Yerevan Heat and Electric Power Station, of natural gas in the amount of 1,300 cubic meters a year, as the basic fuel while using black oil as reserve fuel.

The USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry, the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, and the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification must secure, in 1988, the introduction of the line part of the Severnyy Kavkaz-Zakavkaze Gas Pipeline and in 1989 the completion of the entire construction.

The ArSSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification have been ordered to revise and confirm the heat supply of the city of Yerevan to the year 2005 during the first 6 months of 1988, having envisaged in the elimination of small and the construction of large boiler-houses and a new heat and electric power station.

The ArSSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry, and the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification have been instructed to secure, during periods of unfavorable meteorological conditions, the operation of the Yerevan Heat and Electric Power Station on gas alone.

The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, in 1992, must complete the introduction of a plan for the reduction of the formation of nitrogen oxides in the boiler furnaces of the Yerevan Heat and Electric Power Station.

The USSR Ministry of Medical and Microbiological Industry and the ArSSR Council of Ministers have been instructed to complete the construction of local installations for the treatment of sewage of the Yerevan Plant for Vitamin Preparations and to put them into operation in 1988, as well as to secure the achievement, in this plant, of the established norms of the maximum permissible effluents into the atmosphere by 1990.

The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and the ArSSR Council of Ministers must, during 1987-1988, secure the equipment of monitoring and control points for checking the toxicity of exhaust gases from automobile engines with the necessary control instruments.

The USSR Ministry of Health and the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry have been instructed to carry out, in 1988, a survey of the health of the workers of the Yerevan Nairit Scientific-Production Association and, on the basis of the results of this survey, to develop and put into effect the necessary sanitary measures.

The ArSSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to revise and confirm, during the first quarter of 1988, the general transportation scheme for the city of Yerevan, with the intent of increasing the share of electric transport in city transportation, to complete, in 1990, the work on the expansion of the Yerevan Aeration Station to 375,000 cubic meters of sewage per 24 hours, to carry out, in 1988-1989, the reconstruction of the Dzhrvezhskiy Lake Marl Plant, and to remove the asphalt concrete plants No 1 and No 2 outside the limits of Yerevan; to examine and solve, in the 12th Five-Year Plan, the problems of the supply of the enterprises of Yerevan with water for technical purposes and to increase control over the activity of enterprises and organizations located in the city.

The government of the republic has instructed the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the ispolkom of the Yerevan City Soviet, and the Nairit Association to find work for the discharged personnel of the chloroprene rubber manufacturing plant, with the preservation of their right of the order of priority for the receipt of living space.

The State Committee for the Protection of the Environment, the republic Administration for Hydrometeorology and Control of the Natural Environment, the ispolkom of the Yerevan City Soviet, and the Ministry of Health must examine and, in the third quarter of the current year, present for confirmation an integrated territorial scheme for the protection of the environment for the city of Yerevan, having devoted in it special attention to measures for the reduction of the emission of harmful substances into the atmosphere by motor transport.

The State Committee for the Protection of the Environment, the republic Administration for Hydrometeorology and Control of the Natural Environment, and the ministries of health and internal affairs are obligated to intensify control over the environmental protection activity of the enterprises and organizations.

The editorial boards of the republic newspapers and journals, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the Society for the Protection of Nature and the Znaniye Society have been instructed to organize broad-based explanatory work among the population about the measures that are being taken for the improvement of the ecological environment of Yerevan.

**ArSSR Concern Over Continuing Toxic River
Pollution in Idzhevan**

18300156b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
21 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by L. Oganessian, *KOMMUNIST*'S own correspondent: "On the Red Trail"; the first paragraph is *KOMMUNIST* introduction]

[Text] Four years ago, in the article "The Red River," we told about an acute ecological crisis that has taken shape in Idzhevskiy Rayon: Industrial drainage and coloring matters have been emitted by a carpet combine into the Agstev without treatment. As a result, the river which was once crystal-clear clean and rich in fish, beginning with the lower city boundary, rolled its already crimson-red water along, damaging the environment. The newspaper sounded the alarm, insisting on the necessity of the most rapid allotment of funds for the construction of treatment facilities. The managers of other industrial enterprises, hiding their "earthly" sins in the waters of the defenseless river, were also called upon to put a stop to the ecological unconcern. Has anything changed for the better during the time that has passed?

The correspondence center of *KOMMUNIST* in the city of Dilizhane received a report to the effect that, on 15 September of the past year, the Idzhevan Carpet Combine completed the construction of treatment installations at an estimated cost of 1.8 million rubles. The necessary equipment has been installed. The purification works were tested and put into operation by the state commission. The daily capacity of the draining intercepting ditch is 1,760 cubic meters, which exceeds by a factor of 8 the volume of sewage of the enterprise. A gratifying fact, of course. One might as well shout "hurrah!" Only one does not want to this very much here because the gladness is overshadowed by one circumstance of no small account. Almost half a year has passed from the start up of the purification works, but the river to date is still crimson-red.

As happens often in practice, they accepted the purification station, to put it mildly, "without bringing it up to the mark." The personnel servicing it also was unable to quickly master all the secrets of the chemical-mechanical treatment of the water. Besides, the technology installed in the project by the Ulyanovskiy GPI-10 has two important shortcomings. First of all, it does not effect the biological purification of the water; second, it does not envisage the repeated use of the treated water, which, in conditions of a lack of water, is extremely important. In this sense, the technology developed by the Yerevan Scientific Research Institute for General and Inorganic Chemistry for the purification of water of harmful impurities and dyes is more useful for utilization in light industry enterprises.

Parallel to these difficulties, they were late with the introduction of a new dyeing section. At present the construction of the room has been completed, one dyeing

apparatus has been installed (there should be 6, but up to now they have not obtained them). This means that there is no technological link with the treatment station as yet, and the old dyeing section continues the direct discharge of pigment into the river (let us add that the lightly polluted and industrial-household water of the enterprise is also not being treated). This is why the landscape, dyed in the unusual color, continues to remain the little-prestigious "sight" of the city.

Here is the very time to remember that an disrespectful attitude to nature inflicts irreversible damage not only to it, but also to man himself. Any pollution, like a boomerang, strikes at our health, not to mention the health of the coming generations. People are gradually beginning to realize this. In many respects, the awakening of civic responsibility for the purity of the environment is encouraged by the atmosphere of glasnost and democratization of society.

It is by these positive trends that one can explain the changes that have taken place in the Idzhevskiy Ben-tonit Combine. Here filters to catch spray have already been installed and are in operation—filters which besides their basic function (the powder collected by them is used instead of silica white, which is imported from abroad and is several times more expensive) have a great ecological effect.

Every year about 700 tons of the valuable powder are caught and shipped, and its content in the atmosphere is diminished by that amount. With the increase in the number of filters and their capacity, there will be a corresponding increase in the volume of powder caught. The filters operating here, the chief engineer of the combine, S. Pirumyan, tells us, together with the wet cleaning of the exhaust gases of the drying drums, produces a 70-percent purification effect. The utilization of the wet powder is awaiting its engineering solution. As far as the process water is concerned, it is purified in the enterprise in special settling basins and slag-repositories.

As we see, the managers of two industrial enterprises of the region are already taking steps toward the normalization of their industrial activity. But the city authorities are so far not as successful.

The rayon center, as before, is living without a treatment station. According to data of the local sanitation and epidemiology center, the city sewer discharges into the river in terms of their toxicity exceed the maximum permissible concentration by a factor of 10. This is no less harmful than the dyes of the combine. The construction of a city drainage interception ditch was included in the title list 12 years ago. And the estimate was confirmed—2.990 million rubles. During the first, and as it turned out, last year of construction, 10,000 out of 90,000 rubles allotted for the beginning of production were assimilated. During the subsequent years, the republic Gosplan, citing a lack of funds, did not even include the project in the title list. And the Ministry of

Housing and Municipal Services wrote off the planning estimates as obsolete, although in their time 35,000 rubles were spent on their preparation.

Years pass in the expectation of a new plan for a drainage interception ditch. Of course, more than once the city authorities turned to the relevant authorities with an official request, insistently requesting consideration of the critical situation that has been created and the resumption of the interrupted construction. But up to the present there is not only no decision and no plan, but there is not even an answer to the numerous inquiries of the Idzhevsk authorities.

It is clear that, without consistent and decisive actions of the local organ of state authority and an accommodating understanding from above, the painful social problems cannot be solved.

FROM THE EDITORS: Having inquired about the state of affairs prior to the publication of the article, we found out that, finally, a brigade of surveyors and designers from the Armkommunproyekt Institute has begun work. The question of financing remains open up to now. It seems that the new leadership of the ispolkom is coping with this question through the involvement of funds of the enterprises located on its territory, without regard to their departmental subordination. All the more so because there is an example for imitation. The Union Ministry of Light Industry envisages share holding of the carpet combine (in the amount of 500,000 rubles) in the construction of the city treatment station.

8970

Planning Advances for Lake Baykal Ecological Development

18300173 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] At its latest regularly scheduled meeting, the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium reviewed the plan for the general conception of industrial development in the Lake Baykal basin.

The document contains a package of organizational measures to ensure the economic and social development of this region, taking into account its unique features and the necessity of strictly observing the requirements for maintaining a favorable ecological situation. What is intended is the "ecologizing" of the sectoral structure of the economy, the creation of industries and intersectoral complexes which are ecologically clean. The principal directions of the fundamental environmental protection activity have been determined: a sharp reduction down to established norms in the emission of polluting waste products, and the elimination of individual areas of pollution. In order to further improve

the ecological situation in the Lake Baykal area, three ecological zones have been determined. These zones will regulate the economic activity and the manner of natural resource exploitation. For those enterprises located within the zones, there will be obligatory ecological certifications. Many national, republic and local agencies, ministries and enterprises are being brought into the process of carrying out this general conception of industrial development around Lake Baykal.

The meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium also reviewed other issues of a social and economic nature.

Uzbek Council of Ministers Commission Examines Environmental Priorities

18300155a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Jan 88 p 3

[UzTAG report: "Concern For Nature Is a Law For Everyone: Report from a Session of the Commission for Environmental Protection and the Efficient Use of Natural Resources, Presidium of the UzSSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] During the course of a commission session that was held in Tashkent under the leadership of I. Kh. Dzhurabekov, deputy chairman of the UzSSR Council of Ministers, substantial corrections were made in the text of the decision draft. It was decided: to express lack of confidence in R. A. Shakhnazarov, general director of the Fergananeftorgsintez Production Association, and to recommend to USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry that it relieve him of the position he holds as a result of his having committed repeated violations of environmental protection legislation over a period of years.

The factor that served as the last straw was the critical situation that has developed as a result of the irresponsibility on the part of the association leadership in Tashlakskiy Rayon: as a result of the constant leakage of petroleum products there, drinking-water wells have been put completely out of commission. No operations were carried out promptly to contain and localize polluted underground water — it took the association a year and a half just to begin the preliminary prospecting.

In the extensive area around Fergana the intensive pollution of the underground water sources led to a situation in which practically all the water intakes fail to conform to the sanitary conditions. The chief culprits responsible for the extraordinarily serious ecological situation here, in addition to the people in the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, are the Azot Production Association in Fergana, the Furan-Compounds Chemical Plant, and the Fergana TETs. All these enterprises are operating worn-out and obsolescent equipment and purification means, and their replacement or their removal from operation have been postponed from year to year. The funds for these purposes that are being

allocated by the union and republic ministries are insufficient — even so, they are not being used promptly. Enterprise and department administrators have been stubbornly refusing to resolve the ecological problems and ignoring the prescriptions issued by environmental-protection agencies.

The content of noxious discharges in the air, water, and soil continues to exceed the admissible concentration many times over. All this has had a detrimental effect upon people's living conditions, is one of the main reasons for the consistently high level of various diseases, and has evoked numerous justified complaints from the public.

Passivity, lack of supervision, and lack of exactingness with respect to the violators of environmental-protection legislation have been displayed also by the leadership of the Fergana Oblast Ispolkom. The commission recommended the application of the most stringent measures — up to and including the cessation of production — toward those persons who refuse to take steps within the shortest periods of time to achieve a fundamental improvement in the ecological situation in the area around Fergana. Notification of this has been made to the appropriate union and republic departments.

The session also considered the question of the work of UzSSR Gosagrom in environmental protection and the efficient use of natural resources. It was noted that that work is being carried out unsatisfactorily and does not promote the improvement of the ecological situation in the republic. The consumer-minded attitude toward nature, the lack of discipline, and the irresponsibility of the administrators of the farms and enterprises in the agroindustrial complex, and the lack of supervision on the part of the branch, oblast, and rayon subdivisions of Gosagroprom, have been leading to the crudest violations of the legislation.

The capital investments allocated for carrying out environmental-protection measures have been regularly unused. The farms have been doing practically nothing to observe the proper rules for the storage, transportation, and use of poisonous chemicals and mineral fertilizers. Nor has any attention been paid to the questions of protecting the soil, the efficient use of the land, or the recultivation of the land.

The recommendation was made to the board of UzSSR Gosagroprom that it discuss these questions immediately and take specific steps to achieve the fundamental improvement of the environmental-protection work. It is necessary by the end of the five-year plan to stop completely the dumping of contaminated water into bodies of water and to achieve a sharp reduction in the amount of discharge of noxious substances into the atmosphere. The commission emphasized that the rules governing the use of the environment are mandatory for

administrators at every level, and that everyone who ignores those rules must bear the strictest responsibility, up to and including being relieved from the position that he occupies.

5075

Mortality Rate Tied to Poor Samarkand Oblast Pediatric Services

18300155b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 8 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondent V. Karimov, under rubric "Let's Show Nationwide Concern For the Children": "The Young Patient Is Awaiting Aid"]

[Text] Samarkand Oblast has a broad network of preventive and therapeutic institutions and thousands of physicians, and yet, all of a sudden, there is a high infant mortality rate. There is a reproachful sound to those words!

They Do Not Conform to the Requirements

We would like to cite a few figures. The children's health service unites 134 outpatient departments, four clinics, six hospitals, 12 inpatient departments at hospitals, and 808 medical-aid and midwifery stations. The total number of beds is 5,629.

Probably no other oblast in the republic, including the oblast in which the capital is situated, possesses such a potential. But the figures that have been cited do not say anything unless they are carefully analyzed and compared with the existing standards.

And so 5,629 beds is not too large a number. According to the approved standards, the number of beds in the oblast should probably be twice as large. And if one also takes into consideration the fact that approximately one-third of all these beds are situated in makeshift areas, one will become completely aware of the very difficult conditions under which the medical personnel have to work.

Everyone is aware of the great volume of operations in rural localities that is carried out by the medical-aid and midwifery stations (FAP) and the rural outpatient departments (SVA). At first glance there would seem to be a large number of them — there are more than 800 medical-aid and midwifery stations alone. But what does that figure mean? Slightly more than 14 percent of those stations are situated in well-equipped accommodations, but in Bolshevistskiy, Ishtykanskiy, and Payaryskiy rayons they are located, despite the instruction manuals, in private homes. Some of the accommodations are in deplorable condition. In Koshrabadskiy, Sovetabadskiy, and Pakhtachiyskiy rayons they are not provided with water. Many of them do not have any transportation or telephone service.

What do we mean by makeshift accommodations? Take, for example, the oblast and city children's hospitals in Samarkand. The former is squeezed into the old structures of the former medical school, and the latter in a multistory building that was intended as a dormitory. And yet both of them are base treatment institutions that are part of a medical institute where students engage in practical work.

The very term "makeshift accommodations" contains a nuance of instability and lack of completion, and is an obvious hint of incomplete capabilities. If a hospital were built according to standards, with all the conveniences, the work there would certainly be easier and better.

For many years the material base in the oblast's public-health service developed poorly. For ten years a 300-bed multispecialty children's hospital has been under construction. This characterizes, better than anything else does, the attitude taken by the city authorities to the network of children's treatment institutions.

Or take another example. During the past 15-20 years several large-scale housing areas have arisen in Samarkand. But no special buildings for hospitals, clinics, or lying-in homes have been planned in any of them. Instead, makeshift accommodations in apartment buildings have been allocated for those purposes. Take, for example, the previously mentioned city children's hospital, which is situated not far from the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Ispolkom. The building was intended for use as a dormitory for the elevator-construction plant, but for some reason the people at the plant didn't like it, and it was transferred to the public-health service. The hospital lacks a courtyard and other conveniences. At the nearby rayon ispolkom they only promise to improve the situation.

The Sattapo housing area is being built up. Nineteen thousand people are already living there. And more than 8000 of them are children. However, that area does not have a lying-in home, a women's consultation office, or a clinic. At housing areas A and B, where 90,000 people live, of whom one-third are children, there are only two clinics — one for children and one for adults. During the hours when those clinics are open, naturally, it is impossible for a person to push his way through the crowd. What kind of medical treatment can one expect under those conditions?

Similar examples could be given for the Sogdiana housing area. It is true that during recent years certain shifts have been noted. For example, the plan for the 12th Five-Year Plan stipulated the activation of lying-in homes with a total of 350 beds, children's and women's consultation offices, and children's clinics capable handling 1200 visits a day.

It would seem that things have begun to move, but the force of inertia is still great: the construction workers have not been carrying out operations on the basis of precisely worked-out schedules. One can observe a lagging behind at almost all the public-health projects.

At the children's preventive and therapeutic institutions one senses a serious shortage of modern equipment and medical apparatus. The requisitions are being satisfied by less than half. There is especially a shortage of children's resuscitation equipment, laryngoscopes, and monitoring, respiratory, and oxygen apparatus. Medicines that have proven to be in critically short supply are protein biological preparations, antibiotics with a broad spectrum of effects, and hormonal agents. The networks of children's milk kitchens has been expanding and improving insufficiently. The total number of them is 14, and the children in most instances are fed cow's milk, which causes gastrointestinal diseases.

How We Treat Patients

Yes, the public-health system needs many things — standard accommodations, modern equipment, and effective preparations. But, in addition to this, do we have any guarantee that we can reduce the infant mortality rate to the minimum if the medical workers continue to take their current attitude toward their duties? We do not have that guarantee. The oblast's public-health service must be subjected to fundamental restructuring. And that restructuring must begin with the physicians and the middle-level medical personnel, with those who come into direct contact with the patients.

Take, for example, the city hospital again. It is crammed into inconvenient accommodations and has at its disposal by no means all the necessary instruments and apparatus. But it does have medical personnel who are sufficiently strong. Eight pediatricians have been certified, and physicians L. A. Arushanova and T. K. Knapp have the highest certification category. They all work with a high sense of responsibility.

The hospital has close contacts with scientists at Samarkand Medical Institute. There they employ new methods for diagnosing and treating children, hold city and oblast seminars dealing with problems of resuscitation and intensive therapy, provide probational work for pediatricians and nurses, and provide refresher courses for physicians from Samarkand, Bukhara, Navoi, and Dzhi-zak oblasts. As we can see, even under unfavorable conditions it is possible to achieve a lot, so long as people have the desire and the knowledge to do so.

Unfortunately, one cannot say this about many of the other therapeutic institutions in the oblast, especially those in the rural localities. As a result of the unsatisfactory medical aid provided to children and the high percentage of mortality rate, the oblast public-health service was forced to relieve three administrators of their duties — Kh. Davlyatov, deputy chief physician at the

hospital in Bolshhevistskiy Rayon; B. Omanov, chief physician in Pakhtachiyskiy Rayon; and F. Tuidyev, in Urgutskiy Rayon. Criminal charges have been drawn up against individual medical workers in Urgutskiy, Dzhambayskiy, Ishtykanskiy, and Bolshhevistskiy rayons.

For two-year-old Sberalya Karshibayeva, of Urgutskiy Rayon, a late determination was made of the acute course of hepatitis. The reason was a superficial examination of the child, and the irresponsible attitude that A. Rustamov and A. Tashtemirov, physicians at the rayon infectious-diseases hospitals, took toward their duties. In addition, the physician's prescriptions were not completely carried out. The result was tragic. Rustamov and Tashtemirov have been transferred temporarily to positions with a lower salary rate, and materials pertaining to them have been sent to the investigative agencies.

Eldar Mamatkulov went to the Dzhambayskiy Rayon infectious-diseases hospital twice for hepatitis. The second time he was in a serious condition. The Samarkand specialists — physicians T. Kazimov and S. Khanina — made their corrections to the prescription, but, at the fault of rayon hospital physician R. Mardonova, they were not carried out. Young Eldar died.

The point of the matter in this instance is not only Mardonova's low proficiency level, but also the elementary violation of therapeutic discipline, and the manifestation of personal vanity that led to the sad result.

Unfortunately, there are many such instances. True, in such instances the persons who are largely guilty are the parents themselves, who have delayed in coming to the physicians. But this itself is testimony to the poor propagandizing of medical knowledge, for which the rayon public-health departments are primarily to blame. But regardless of what prevails there, the physician's intervention in any situations should be well-qualified. From all these facts there emerges the conclusion: the quality of pediatric training at the republic's institutions of higher medical learning does not meet the requirements. How, in particular, are pediatricians being trained at the Samarkand Medical Institute?

Where and How Are the Cadres Being Trained?

The proficiency level of the pediatricians is low. That finding was made by a USSR Ministry of Public Health team that arrived in Samarkand Oblast to render practical assistance. Only 10 percent of the physicians (and the total number of pediatricians in the oblast is more than 1,100) have been certified. That fact alone is sufficient for judging the pediatric department at the medical institute.

Isn't it paradoxical that the department which, during the course of slightly more than a quarter of a century, has trained 31 doctors of sciences and 103 candidates of sciences, has been graduating specialists who, with few

exceptions, fail to correspond to the purpose for which they were trained? Is it because it is easier to train doctors of sciences than to train qualified pediatricians?...

Experienced professors and assistant professors teach and educate future physicians here, but most of their students have not justified their vocation.

For many years the institute accepted secondary-school graduates with a low level of general-educational training. Especially those from Navoi, Surkhan-Darya, and Kashka-Darya oblasts, and Kara-Kalpak ASSR. The so-called oblast limits, or quotas, were in effect. And so it turned out that knowledgeable secondary-school graduates were left outside the institute walls, while the weak ones occupied their places. Nepotism and cronyism flourished. Thus the indicators of academic achievement proved to be completely understandable. We would like to cite the following fact. During the past two years the institute's pedagogical department graduated 61 outstanding students, and 150 with a grade of 3 [in a scale of 5 to 0].

What does it mean to get a grade of 3 — "satisfactory"? From year to year the student has failed to study something sufficiently, and yet he has been promoted to the next year's class. And with that kind of knowledge he is trusted to take care of children's health.

A process has begun to get rid of the debtors. During the past year alone, 50 students have been dismissed. Among the most recent graduating class, 22 persons failed to pass the state examinations. This has never happened previously. We feel that these are only the first steps and that the attitude that is taken at the institute to the "satisfactory" students will become intolerant.

Factors that fail to promote the quality of specialist training are the material-technical base at the clinics and hospitals; the laboratory service; the shortage of classrooms; and the meager rate to which the educational departments and the clinics have been provided with diagnostic apparatus. Instead of the four beds that the wards are supposed to contain, the wards contain 6-7, or sometimes even more.

Just imagine what it is like in a ward with six children and their parents — a total of 12 people. During clinical-discussion periods, the ward contains an additional 9-10 resident physicians. How can they work under such conditions? And yet definite standards concerning this are in existence, and people cannot fail to know about them.

The department has teachers whom the institute should get rid of. Recently S. Bazarova and Ye. Gazarova left the institute. Judging from the trial certification that was carried out, they are not the only ones. The picture will become clearer after the certification that is planned for February-March 1988.

A questionnaire with the name "The Teacher As Seen By the Students' Eyes" is being carried out. What does this mean? According to the new statute, a teaching assistant, an assistant professor, a professor, or a department head is not selected for the position that he will occupy, but, instead, participates in a competition after working for 5 years. The students' opinion plays a definite role in allowing people to participate in the competition. The departments will take into consideration the results of the questionnaire survey.

Student certification within the institution of higher learning was also carried out for the first time. For sixth-year students that certification has become decisive: the conclusion was made as to whether the particular student should be allowed to take the state examinations.

An important matter is assigning the graduating students to their internships at therapeutic institutions in the RSFSR and the Baltic republics, where there will be things for them to see and to learn. During this school year USSR Minzdrav has authorized the assigning of 123 persons there. Without a doubt this will yield positive results.

In order to raise the oblast's public-health system to the proper level, it is necessary to resolve a number of problems. We have dealt with some of them here. And we are calling the attention of the public and UzSSR Ministry of Public Health to them.

5075

Georgians Warned of DDT Dangers, Misuse of Fertilizers

18300157a Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
2 Feb 88p 2

[Article by David Petriashvili, head engineer of the department of land and underground resources conservation of the GeSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection: "The Use of Mineral Fertilizers Demands Rigorous Monitoring"]

[Text] Land is a highly intricate ecological system that has taken shape over the millions of years of our planet's development. It is an extremely subtle mechanism which is affected by various factors, above all by human beings. And the more intricate and subtle this mechanism is, the more vulnerable it is to outside intervention and the more easily it can be disabled.

No one doubts the urgency of the problem of land conservation today. And even though a great deal of attention is devoted to this matter in our republic, the measures taken are clearly inadequate. Intensive use of chemicals to preserve and raise the yield of agricultural crops creates the preconditions for contamination of the land with residual quantities of pesticides and mineral fertilizers.

Let us look at some instances. According to information from a number of republic monitoring organs, the level of contamination of soil in the GSSR by the chlororganic pesticides DDT and its metabolite DDE has been high in recent years. According to information from the ministries of health of the Abkhaz and Adzhar ASSR's numerous cases of impermissibly high concentrations of chlororganic and fluororganic substances have been recorded.

What is DDT? It is the very well-known "dust" that used to be used so widely not just by agricultural workers but also by many housewives, who would sprinkle it generously on their cats, dogs, and other pets to rid them of pests. And even today you can often hear people say, "Whatever happened to that dust? It was a good 'medicine.'" Actually, you cannot get DDT now; this pesticide was taken out of production and banned from use some 20 years ago.

Well then, the uninitiated reader will ask, what is the problem: This chemical has not been used for a long time and it is still being found? That is indeed a characteristic of DDT, that it is highly persistent in the environment and we will experience its effects for many years into the future.

There are, certainly, some things to think about. We can easily take consolation in the fact that we banned the use of DDT long ago and such a tragic mistake will not be repeated in the future. But again, I must disillusion the reader. In agriculture today we are using, and on a broad scale, a similar chemical, hexachlorane, whose consequences have not been adequately studied.

A heightened concentration of residual quantities of pesticides and mineral fertilizers has been recorded for a number of recent years in our republic, in South Ossetian AO and in Makharadzevskiy, Goriyskiy, Marneulskiy, Bolnisskiy, Dmanisskiy, Tsalkskiy, Gardabanskiy, Sagaredzhoskiy, and Akhmet'skiy rayons. Citrus crops, tea, fruits, vegetable and grain crops, and coarse feeds are the most contaminated crops. What is the reason for this situation? There are many reasons—mismanagement, professional incompetence of the people responsible for the use of toxic chemicals and mineral fertilizers, as well as the indifference of onlookers. Is it that unusual for people to walk calmly past enormous piles of fertilizers and toxic chemicals set out in the open air? Isn't our civic attitude too passive?

Hardly ever have people (again, this refers to those who are not involved in the matter by position or profession) asked the kolkhoz chairman or sovkhos director why such terrible things are allowed. And yet the harm is three-fold, to nature, to our health, and to the material wealth of the state. After all, it is our money that is lying there in the open air and "dissolving" in the environment. Of course, reproaches should be addressed first of all to agricultural workers. After all, they are the ones who are entrusted with this mighty arsenal of chemicals.

They are the ones who are supposed to use them intelligently and in accordance with the rules. Unfortunately, in most cases this is far from the situation.

A great deal of money is spent in the republic each year on agrochemical study of arable lands. This results in agrochemical plan-maps, which are recommendations on exact dosages of mineral fertilizer for particular plots of land. The plan-maps are compiled for each farm and all the data is ultimately turned over to sovkhoz and kolkhoz specialists as a guide for their activity. But in practice, fertilizer is usually applied "by eye," often greatly exceeding the recommended dosages.

During the period of stagnation and erosion of responsibility at all levels, there was for years growth in carelessness and lack of discipline among economic managers in handling substances which require maximum attention. This makes it that much harder to break down this kind of thinking. But it must be stopped, for we have reached a fatal threshold beyond: if the current state of affairs is continued, untold disasters await future generations. Therefore, we must talk about this as often and as persistently as possible. And not just talk—that is, of course, not enough. We need more effective measures, urgent, constructive, and rigorous measures, on a republic-wide scale.

We must maximize the responsibility of economic managers for compliance with the corresponding instructions. Each worker who permits carelessness and negligence in handling chemicals that are dangerous to human health or the protection of nature should be held strictly responsible, including criminal responsibility.

Only through joint efforts, by introducing a variety of decisive measures on an integrated basis in the life of the republic can we protect the land—and that means all of us too—from chemical contamination and avert the threat to the health of future generations.

11176

Officials Determine Most Urgent Georgian Environmental Concerns

18300157b Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
5 Jan 88p 2

Article by Irina Inovel: "Contamination of the Environment Has Reached Such a Scale that Emergency Measures Must Be Taken to Sanitize It"]

[Excerpts] The information made public at the expanded joint session of the collegiums of the GeSSR Procuracy and the republic State Committee for Environmental Protection was shocking. It is only a beginning to know that the whole unique living world, which we usually dispassionately call the environment, is in serious danger today. You have to picture the real extent of the disaster to stir up the whole people, to rouse them to the struggle.

This is not hyperbole. And it is not just fancy words. It is not a bow to stereotyped journalistic thought where we have been in such a hurry to call practically any problem "a concern for each and every one of us."

The basic idea which permeated both the report of GeSSR Procurator V. Razmadze and the co-report of V. Kacharava, chairman of the republic State Committee for Environmental Protection, was the need to fundamentally restructure all environmental protection activity and to strive for strict compliance with the relevant laws. This idea had a large element of self-criticism, for until very recently procuracy organs have not done the necessary monitoring of compliance with environmental protection laws and the State Committee has sometimes been lax and compromising in its activity in this area.

Our situation is changing for the better. One indication of this is simply the fact that the expanded joint session of the collegiums of the republic Procuracy and State Committee for Environmental Protection was held and representatives of many republic ministries and departments were invited to it. One more indication was the action of the republic Procuracy in early autumn when it appealed to the population through the mass information media to report cases of contamination and destruction of the environment. People responded so enthusiastically to this appeal that a special dispatching center to receive messages from citizens had to be set up. Concrete steps were taken on each of these reports within a 2-week period.

Parallel with this work the department of general supervision of the GeSSR Procuracy jointly with specialists from the republic State Committee for Environmental Protection and the Administration for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Monitoring at all USSR-subordinate republic enterprises and at major construction sites of the Ministry of Building Materials Industry, the Ministry of Motor Vehicle Transportation, Gosagroprom, and other ministries and departments conducted a comprehensive check on compliance with environmental protection laws.

Based on the violations uncovered procuracy organs submitted 109 reports and 25 orders, and 84 officials were brought to disciplinary and material accountability.

In all spheres without exception, the success of restructuring is determined to a large degree by how deeply we understand the way we used to live. Without a mature understanding of this, progress will be difficult. The one who moves ahead is not the one who looks fixedly into the future, but the one who while doing this does not forget also to glance back occasionally.

Let us not forget that we are talking today not about restructuring in general, but rather about restructuring in environmental protection activity. What does our past reveal? People of the older generation remember that there were grandiose plans to radically remake nature, to

"transform" it as was said in those days. And we were so successful in this "transforming" activity of ours, whose slogan could well have been the popular folk saying, "When you cut wood, chips fly," that many scientific minds even today are nurturing plans for vast changes in nature. Debates on this continue; the advocates of violence against nature and their opponents continue to cross spears in heated polemics. It seems that many people have become enamored of the famous words of Turgenev's nihilist Bazarov, "Nature is not a cathedral, but a workshop." This means that serene, blessed order must reign in a cathedral, but in a workshop you can even mess things up a little. No matter, it can be cleaned up later.

But "later" is sometimes too late. Let us recall: first we undertook to tear down the cathedrals themselves. How many of them have been destroyed, annihilated? People now have awakened and are horrified at their barbaric actions. We have begun to restore and rebuild. But how can you restore things if they are irreversibly lost?

Having squandered our cathedral—our history and culture—we went after nature. Here too vandalism spread far and wide; one can only wonder today at the ignorant and aggressive attitude toward something that, in its essence, should be sacred to human beings. For the world Nature—just that way, with a capital "N"—stands alongside concepts such as Fatherland and History.

No, despoiling of nature is not an unavoidable evil of scientific-technical progress, as some people try to present it. If we attain something at the cost of destroying something else, that is not progress; it is unskillful, wasteful management. Sometimes it is because of poverty. More often it is from lack of ability or desire to see farther than one's own narrow departmental perspective. More often it is from awareness that in reality there is no punishment for trampling nature. The bureaucratic rule, "The plan at any cost," which although not written down was widespread not so long ago, is deeply, very deeply imbedded in the consciousness of many people.

From Information Presented at the Joint Session of the Two Collegiums

The discharge of harmful substances into the republic's air basin in 1986 increased by 31,000 tons compared to 1985. A total of 1,570,000 tons of harmful substances was released into the atmosphere in the year. Of that amount, 60 percent was motor vehicle exhaust gases and 34 percent was smoke discharges from industrial enterprises.

The "front-runners" in environmental contamination are enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry located in the republic. We should add to that list the production facilities of the USSR Ministry of Building Materials Industry. As for

poorly adjusted motor vehicles the worst situations are in the systems of the republic Ministry of Motor Vehicle Transportation and Gosagroprom.

In this connection we cannot help but mention the unsatisfactory work of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate. Not all of its subdivisions have gas analyzers and other essential monitoring and measuring equipment. And where they do have it it usually is not used because of the poor qualifications of the employees (in the Tkibuli and Marneuli city OVD's, the Gardabanskiy Rayon OVD, the Ordzhonikidze Rayon OVD in the city of Tbilisi, and elsewhere).

We should also give the names of those economic managers who head the enterprises that are making the largest "contributions" to poisoning and polluting the environment. They are: T. Chikvaidze, director of the Avchalskiy Silicate Wall Material Plant; his colleague T. Agladze from the Tbilisi Ceramics Combine; T. Nozadze, head of the Mikrodivigatel Plant, the main enterprise of the Gruzelektromash Production Association; R. Gabisoniya, director of the Reinforced Concrete Parts Plant of the Gruzgidroenergo Production Association; R. Suladze of the Tbilisi Electrical Welding Equipment Plant imeni Paton; D. Suladze of the Tbilisi Building Materials Combine; A. Shankulashvili of the Kaspi Slate and Cement Plant; D. Tatarishvili of the Rustavi Cement Plant; G. Kiriya of the Kutaisi Lithopone Plant; D. Shamatava of the Liloyskiy Building Materials Combine; T. Paychadze of the Tbilisi Stankostroitel Production Association; and, unfortunately, many, many others.

Whereas the average monthly level of air pollution in the first half of 1987 was close to the national average in the cities of Batumi and Sukhumi, in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Rustavi, Zestafoni, Kaspi, and Tkvarcheli the maximum permissible concentrations of harmful substances were 3, 4 and 6 times higher than the norm.

These facts are only a small part of what was said about the atmosphere. To this we should add the systematic discharge of untreated and half-treated waste water into the rivers, lakes, and Black Sea. To this we should also add the equally systematic contamination of the soil by the steadily expanding chemicalization of agriculture. Then we have the poorly managed use of water resources, violations of fishing and hunting laws, clearing of forests, arbitrary seizure of lands by certain enterprises which disable considerable agricultural land, recultivation projects, and the trampling of planted areas by livestock—all these things taken together worsen the already unhappy picture of criminally irresponsible treatment of living nature.

These reports ring out as "SOS" signals. The Tbilisi reservoir and the Kura, Rioni, Kairila, Aragvi, Vere, and other rivers are in unsatisfactory sanitary condition. One of the main polluters of the Black Sea is the Batumi Petroleum Refinery, which even in normal operations

discharges up to 500 tons of petroleum products a year into the sea. Treatment facilities in Gagra, Gudauta, Novyy Afon, and Kobuleti are not in operation because construction of sewage systems is incomplete, and their waste water is discharged into the sea. A large majority of the animal husbandry and poultry complexes and factories also discharge untreated waste water into rivers or the sea. The rules for storage, transportation, and application of toxic chemicals are violated everywhere.

These and many other facts backed up with concrete examples and ominous statistics were made public at the joint session and could not help having a corresponding impact on those in attendance.

The report of I. Pagava, GeSSR deputy minister of health and chief sanitation doctor of the republic, aroused special interest among the people at the session.

The most serious complaints of this department of the Ministry of Health are against the Gosagroprom system, where so far they have not made even minimal changes toward correcting the situation with contamination of the environment by farms and work sites. Animal and poultry waste continues to be discharged into bodies of water; treatment facilities are either lacking or work at just 3-5 percent of projected capacity because of unsatisfactory utilization.

The picture is not brighter at many industrial enterprises. The result is poor-quality drinking water in many places in the republic, which threatens various diseases.

But the following report is best quoted: "The most serious and radical steps are needed to reduce pollution of the air in Tbilisi by vehicle exhaust gases. According to findings of the inspection there were instances of

heightened levels of illness among children who live or attend children's institutions located along main thoroughfares, even when the level of air pollution is evaluated as mild."

And the main conclusion is: It is impossible today to talk about preserving and strengthening the health of the population without taking steps to sanitize the environment.

The first serious step toward absolute compliance with environmental protection laws in the republic has been taken. It must be followed by others.

The GeSSR Procurator has given official warnings that continued violation of environmental protection laws will not be tolerated to A. Gasanov, deputy chairman of republic Gosagroprom, deputy ministry of building materials industry T. Gordeladze, deputy minister of forestry O. Baliashvili, deputy minister of construction Sh. Lomidze, and more than 20 other heads of large enterprises and organizations. If they do not draw the necessary conclusions and restructure their work in the appropriate direction other sanctions envisioned by the law will inevitably follow.

Not only were a number of economic managers criticized for tolerating environmental pollution; many regional procurators were given disciplinary punishment for lax supervision of the execution of environmental protection laws. The zonal inspectorates of the State Committee for Environmental Protection were also directed to radically restructure their work. A joint long-range plan of basic steps to further strengthen environmental protection was worked out. In short, a great deal was done so that the new year of 1988 can be a turning point in practical work toward a solicitous, truly humane attitude toward Nature, our priceless human treasure.

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